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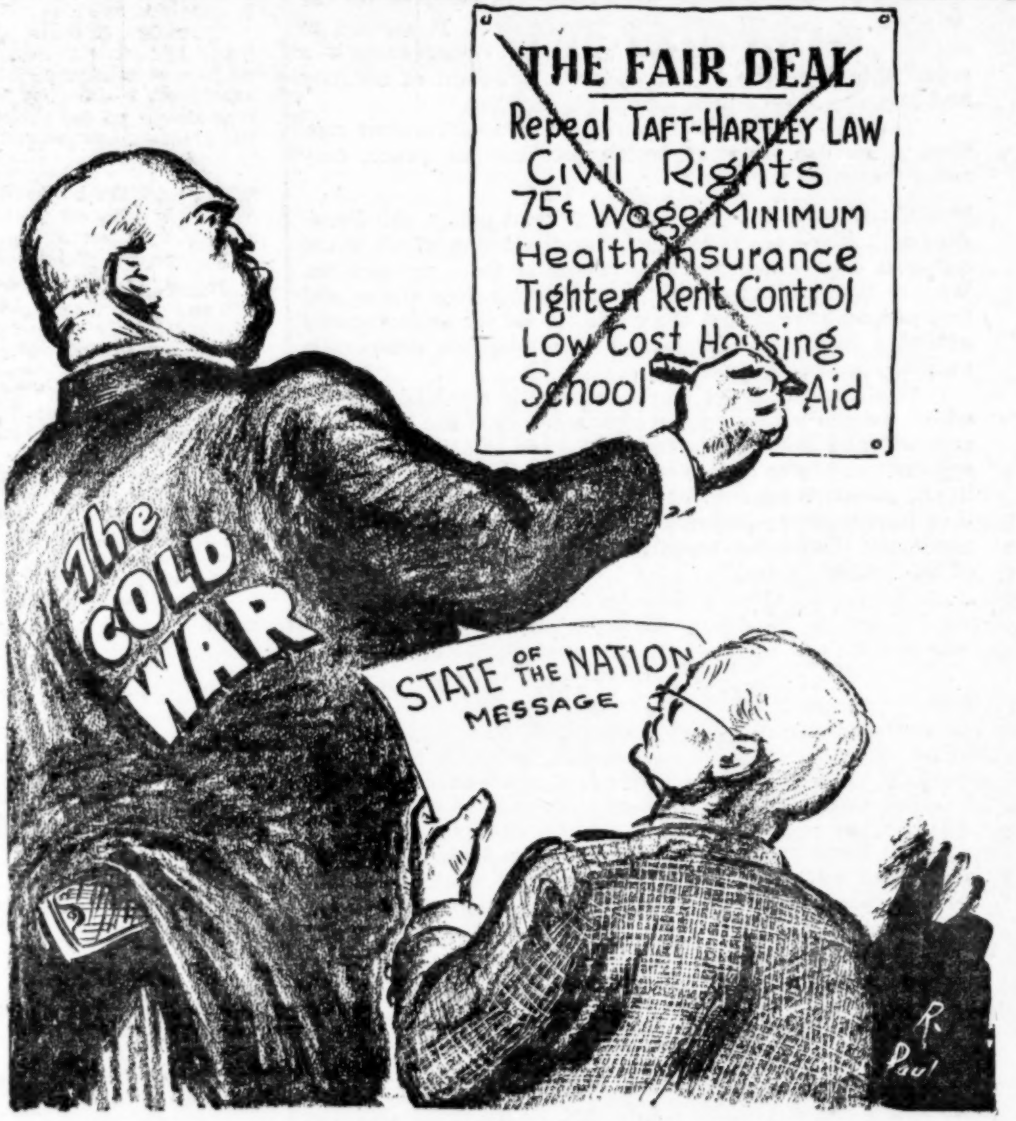

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Truman's week

LAST Wednesday the President came before a joint session of both houses of Congress, to report on the State of the Union. His speech re-stated all the reforms he advocated in his campaign.

Yet the glaring contradiction of his campaign still remained—how to accomplish a program of domestic reform, housing, health, fair prices and the rest while spending more than half the nation's annual income on war materials and cold war adventures.

To this the President's only answer was a proposed 10% increase in taxes, to fall on corporate income and on middle as well as upper bracket private income.

Most notably, in this season of witch-hunts and pumpkin spy scares, the President managed to talk for 29 minutes without using the words "communist," "red," "spy" or even "Russia." Notably, too, he mentioned the United Nations only once, as a subsidiary to ERP.

STATE OF THE UNION. The President said: "I am happy to report to the 81st Congress that the State of the Union is good. . . We have abandoned the 'trickle-down' concept of national prosperity. Instead we believe that our economic system should rest on a democratic foundation and that wealth should be created for the benefit of all.

"This progress has confounded the gloomy prophets at home and abroad, who predicted the downfall of American capitalism . . . But we still have a long way to go . . . We cannot float along carelessly on a post-war boom until it collapses . . . The business cycle is man-made; and men of good will, working together, can smooth it out."

He asked Congress to take these steps:

ECONOMY. Grant authority to set price controls if necessary and to freeze wages. Tighten consumer and bank credits. Regulate speculation on commodity exchanges. Control exports. Continue allocations of scarce materials to industry. In case of serious shortages in key materials such as steel, grant government loans to increase production. If private industry still can't or won't expand, let the government go into the business itself.

Rent control

HOUSING. Increase low-rent housing by 1,000,000 units in the next seven years. (Progressive program asked 25,000,000 in the next 10 years.) Most must be built by private industry without public assistance, but the power to allocate materials and control prices might be used "to channel more materials into homes large enough for family life at prices which wage earners can afford." Extend and strengthen rent control.

LABOR. Repeal the Taft-Hartley Law. Reenact the Wagner Act, but ban jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts. Set up machinery to settle or prevent strikes in "vital industries which affect the public interest." Raise the minimum wage to at least 75 cents an hour. (Now 40 cents. Henry Wallace proposed $1 an hour.)

FARM. Keep price supports. (He did not indicate at what percentage of parity.) Provide adequate storage space for crops so that small farmers can take advantage of the price support system.

CIVIL RIGHTS. The President said: "The civil rights proposals I made to the 80th Congress I now repeat to the 81st Congress."

SOCIAL SECURITY. Increase benefits and extend coverage of social security system. Establish a system of prepaid medical insurance.

Continued in wide column on next page.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

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EDUCATION. Send prompt Federal aid to states for their school systems.

TAXES. Raise Federal tax revenue by $4,000,000,000. Get it from additional corporate taxes, revised estate and gift taxes and increased personal income tax rates for those in the middle and upper brackets.

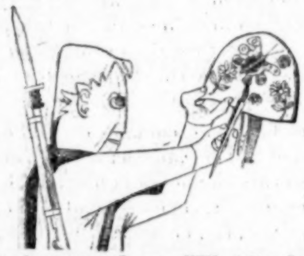
No change

THE first two-thirds of the President's message on the whole sounded familiar to progressives. It seemed to outline a domestic program generally Rooseveltian — a reasonable facsimile of the domestic program of security and abundance on which Henry Wallace ran.

Then, in a few short paragraphs, the President outlined a foreign program which promised no peace, only more measures for war.

FOREIGN POLICY. Reaffirming present policy, the President said: "We are following a foreign policy which is the outward expression of the democratic faith we profess. We are doing what we can to encourage free states and free peoples throughout the world, to aid the suffering and affliction in foreign lands and to strengthen democratic nations against aggression.

"Until a system of world security is established upon which we can safely rely, we cannot escape the burden of creating and maintaining armed forces sufficient to deter aggression. We have made great progress in the last year in the effective organization of our armed forces, but further improvements in our national security legislation are necessary. Universal training is essential to the security of the United States."



The President summed up: "We stand at the opening of an era which can mean either great achievement or terrible catastrophe for ourselves and all mankind."

Depositing that momentous choice in the laps of the Congressmen, the President left the rostrum and returned through a drizzling rain to the White House.

What they said

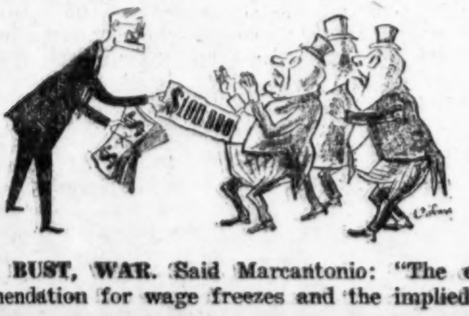
CONGRESSIONAL reaction crossed party lines. Democrats cheered most points, but Southerners objected to the civil rights section.

Some Republicans charged that the President's social security proposals constituted "socialization." Republicans and Democrats joined in opposition to the tax requests.

Only the two Progressives in Congress pointed out the contradictions between the President's domestic hopes and his war measures. Only astute Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) spotted the wage freeze and pointed out the prospect of a phantom repeal of Taft-Hartley. (For Henry Wallace's comment, see page 3.)

Said Sen. Glen Taylor (D-Idaho): "I take exception to his statements on foreign relations. The President says our main objective is peace but he doesn't explain what is happening in Greece and China and in a lot of other places.

"In the domestic program . . . at first you get the impression that Truman is threatening the big steel companies that unless they increase production the government will go into competition with them. But when you examine the actual proposition . . . you see he is merely threatening to give them some big loans."



BOOM, BUST, WAR. Said Marcantonio: "The express recommendation for wage freezes and the implied conti-

Continued in wide column on next page.

This is 'Lucky 13'—have you renewed your subscription?

THE cream in our coffee, the salt in our stew during the founding days of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN last fall were the thousands of people who plunked down $1 apiece long before we even announced a first publication date, to help see us through a trial period of 13 weeks.

That trial period began on Oct. 18, the issue date of Vol. I, No. 1 of the GUARDIAN. It ends this week, with Vol. I, No. 13.

Since Oct. 18 our readership has increased many fold—in the weeks since Election Day we have sometimes added as many as 500 new subscribers a day—but we still look back on that deluge of pre-publication subscribers as the great encouragement which really put us in business.

THIS week the bulk of those pre-publication subscriptions expire. More than 1,000 have already been renewed.

HAVE YOU RENEWED YOURS?

If not, please turn to Page 12 right now and clip out the corner containing your name and address. Put it in an envelope with your renewal remittance—or, if you prefer, stick it on a penny postcard with scotch tape or stickum and we will bill you for a full year.

Do it any way you like, but DO IT NOW!

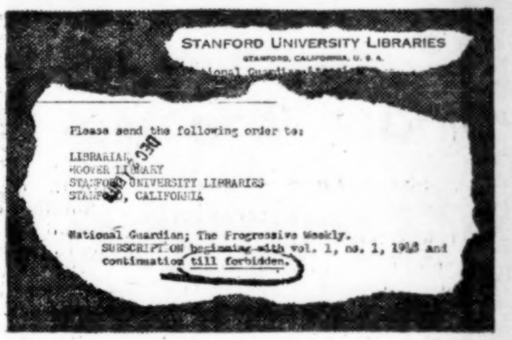
We want new readers, sure—thousands of them—but what we want this week more than anything else is the assurance that every last one of our original, founding subscribers who is still alive and kicking intends to stick it out with us in the fight for Peace, Freedom and Abundance.

Are YOU wth us?

- Actor Elliot Sullivan is with us. Late of **Brigadoon** and more lately of Hollywood, actor Sullivan's first New Year's call on returning to New York was to the GUARDIAN, ordering his Charter subscription extended for a full year.
- An exemplary long-range planner in our midst is Dr. R. G. Gilbert of Kitsap County, Washington. He returned a form postcard to us the other day and in the blank space provided for "Remarks" he set down his remark in neatly rubber-stamped upper-case letters:

"WALLACE IN 1952."

- A lady in San Francisco sent us a duly-endorsed $7 refund check which she got by raising hell with what she calls a "turncoat" magazine to which she had subscribed for two years. With the $7 she extended her own GUARDIAN subscription and subscribed for a friend for a full year.



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SUBSCRIPTION beginning with vol. 1, no. 1, 1948 and continuation till forbidden.

- Got a letter from Senator Homer Ferguson's office late last month, acknowledging receipt by the Senator's subcommittee investigating the Ilse Koch scandal of marked copies of the Nov. 29 GUARDIAN, which front-paged Emil Carlebach's dispatch from Germany of irrefutable evidence in the lampshade atrocity case. We would be interested to know, the letter said, that "Dr. Sitte, referred to in Mr. Carlebach's article, testified before this subcommittee on Dec. 8." Now that's what we call pretty fast action.

RETURNING to the matter of sub renewals: You can tell when your subscription is due to expire by the code number printed beneath your name and address on Page 12. If you were one of our $1 pre-publication subscribers, the code will say 1-13 (unless you have already renewed). If the code number is 1-14, it means that your subscription expires with Vol. I No. 14 (next week).

The code number of subscriber Henry Hannan, Route 1, Bladen, Ohio, reads 3-36, meaning that his subscription has been renewed through Vol III, No. 36, or July, 1951.

May his tribe increase!

John T. McManus

Congress Committees

They're whistling Dixie on the Hill

By James Haddon

WASHINGTON

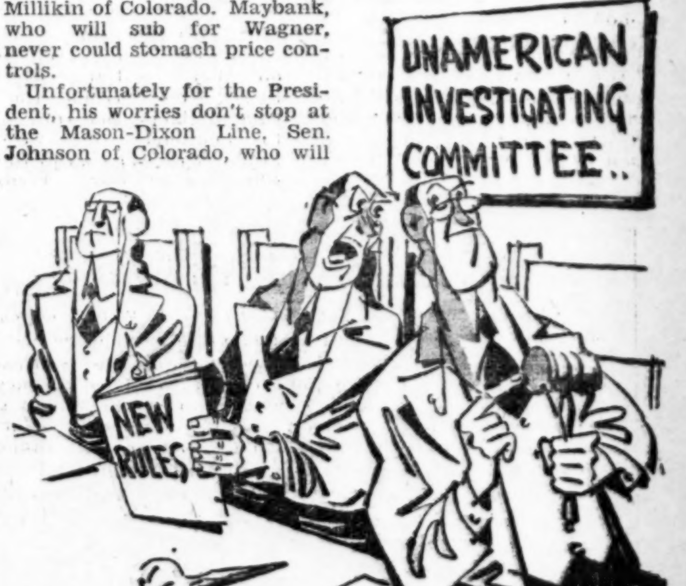
PRESIDENT TRUMAN may soon be singing the seniority blues, for the old Senate tradition of "he who came fustest gets the mostest" is throwing eight of the 15 chairmanships of Senate Committees down to Dixie.

Included in the important posts that go south of the Mason-Dixon Line are the chairmanships of the Agriculture, Appropriations, Armed Services, Finance and Foreign Relations committees. Sen. Maybank of South Carolina will probably hold sway over a ninth chairmanship, Banking and Currency because of the prolonged illness of Sen. Wagner.

STABBING PAINS. All of this means headaches for the man with a new lease on 1600 Pennsylvania Av.

Sen. McKellar of Tennessee, who takes over Appropriations, is a man who can chop down budget estimates nearly as well as the incumbent Republican chairman, Bridges of New Hampshire. Sen. George of Georgia, who returns to the chairmanship of Finance, sees tax issues through much the same eyes as the present head, Millikin of Colorado. Maybank, who will sub for Wagner, never could stomach price controls.

Unfortunately for the President, his worries don't stop at the Mason-Dixon Line. Sen. Johnson of Colorado, who will preside over Interstate and Foreign Commerce, voted to override the President's veto of the Reed-Bulwinkle bill exempting the railroads from the anti-trust laws. Sen. Hayden of Arizona will head Rules and Administration which must pass on changes in the Senate cloture rule and on the poll tax repealer. Hayden has in the past befriended neither measure.



Fred Wright in the UK News

"We are to presume all witnesses innocent unless we presume them guilty ..."

An analysis

Just how fair is Truman's Fair Deal?

By John B. Stone

WASHINGTON

IT was more like a little man selling a familiar product that had been highly recommended to him but which he didn't know too much about. And he was awfully careful not to offend the very powerful big producers who might offer him a more saleable line of goods some day.

If this was the meeting of Harry S. Truman with a honeymoon Congress, your correspondent is very badly educated in the warmth of honeymoons. For the applause, no matter what you've read in the papers, was perfunctory at best—and at worst was laughably scattered. Even the big Democratic majority was listless.

The casual listener might at first have mistaken the State of the Union message for the wan image of a once-mighty New Deal; but certain puzzling contradictions developed rapidly. By the time the President had finished the listener was convinced that the Truman Fair Deal—though it may be a good-looking apple—is rotten at the core.

HOLES IN THE STORY. The state of the union is good, the President said. We are turning out more wealth and goods per capita than ever before. We have confounded persons at home and abroad who say capitalism isn't working.

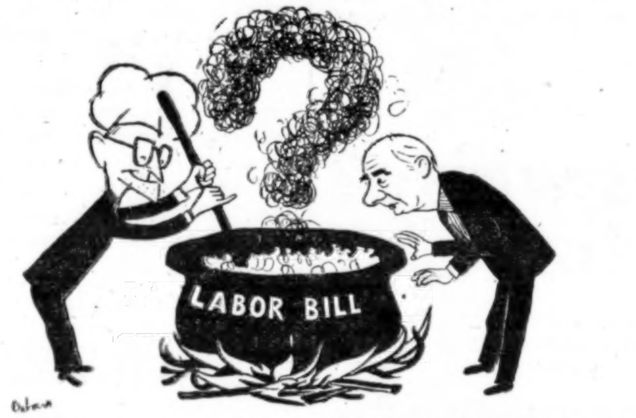
But—we are suffering from a shortage of steel production, and if the companies won't take government loans to up production the government may have to go into the steel business.

During the last 16 years, Truman said, we have developed a society which rejects the idea that the destiny of the nation should be in the hands of a privileged few. But there was no hint of replacing the bankers and agents of great monopolies in the cabinet.

We have abandoned the "trickle-down" concept of national prosperity, but—"We are suffering from excessively high prices. Our production is still not large enough to satisfy demand. Our minimum wages are still far too low."

Small business is losing ground to monopoly. (But no mention of excess profits.)

"Our farmers still face an uncertain future. Some of our natural resources are still being wasted. We are acutely short of electric power although the means for developing such power are abundant. Five million families are still living in slums and firetraps. Three million families share their homes with others." Health, education and democratic ideals are in a very bad way.



PATCHES. And what of the cure?

To right these things, all the little man with the Big Mandate needs from Congress are:

1. Continue present controls over consumer credit and strengthen controls over bank credit.
2. Regulate speculation on the commodity exchanges.
3. Continue export controls and strengthen enforcement of them.
4. Continue allocation and priorities authority in transportation.
5. Ditto on all scarce commodities.
6. Continue and strengthen rent control.
7. Stand by controls on prices and wages.

(The President's actual words on labor failed to evoke criticism from any but the left wing in labor, but they speak for themselves: " . . . To limit unjustified wage adjustments which would force a break in an established price ceiling.")

WHO'LL PAY? And of course, for all this and world rearmament too, Harry Truman made it plain that we would have to pay $4,000,000,000 more in taxes. Last year we took in about $42,000,000,000—so that means a 10% increase.

The four billions, Truman said, "should come principally from additional corporate taxes. A portion should come from revised estate and gift taxes. Consideration should be given to raising personal income tax rates in the middle and upper brackets."

(Truman didn't say who would decide what a middle bracket is. Federal Reserve knows most Americans are either there or in the lower brackets.)

LABOR GIMMICK. For labor, of course, Truman recommended the Taft-Hartley law be repealed. (Administration tactics already had been broached by Speaker Sam Rayburn and Rep. John Lesinski of Michigan, chairman of the House labor committee, when they made clear Tuesday that before T-H is repealed a complete new labor law will be worked out with a lot of T-H features.)

Possibly remembering some of his promises about the Wagner Act, the President straddled the issue with these words:

"The Wagner Act should be re-enacted. However, certain improvements, which I recommended to the Congress two years ago, are needed.

"Jurisdictional strikes and unjustifiable secondary boycotts should be prohibited.

"The use of economic force to decide issues arising out of the interpretation of existing contracts should be prevented.

"Without endangering our democratic freedoms, means should be provided for stalling or PREVENTING STRIKES IN VITAL INDUSTRIES WHICH AFFECT THE PUBLIC INTEREST."" (Capitals ours.—Ed.)

CALL FOR SOLOMON. Nor was there the ring of integrity in his bland assurance that all our bloodshed in Greece and China, all our world interference through use of the Marshall plan, all our stalling on Palestine, Indonesia, all our tragic blunders in China are in the interests of peace.

The legislative audience responded with a bit of sympathy to the improvised appeal for the wisdom of Solomon, interjected from the Presidential cuff in the peroration just preceding the appeal to Congress for cooperation.

But every other sally of handclapping appeared to this correspondent to be a polite recognition of an annual Presidential duty that must be performed to satisfy the amenities, if not needs, of the State of the Union.

Wallace's Comment

Following is an extract from Henry A. Wallace's comment on President Truman's State of the Union speech.

The President's proposals for domestic improvement and reform come into headlong collision with his foreign policy. Abundance and security for the American people are unattainable so long as we pursue a course that spends our substance and our manpower on a huge program of militarization and armaments for ourselves and Western Europe. . . .

It is clear . . . that he intends to continue and intensify the cold war. . . . The President's message again makes it clear that the American people can realize the domestic program for which they voted on Nov. 2 only if they organize their own independent strength to fight for its realization and for an end to the cold war by peaceful understanding with Russia.

The Progressive Party will continue to use its strength and effort, in cooperation with all other progressive Americans, to attain this end.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

nuance of government by injunction will be the basis of the Administration's labor policy . . .

"The basic proposition in the President's message is continuation of the present foreign policy: a policy which leads to boom, bust and war unless stopped by the American people. This foreign policy negates any seemingly progressive blueprint which the Administration advances."

Key House Republicans Halleck and Joe Martin expressed the GOP view. Martin accused the President of asking Congress to "pay for his campaign promises. . . The country is in for some dizzy days." Halleck said the "anti-radicals" in Congress "have a big job to do if the country is to avoid disaster."

$15,000,000,000

Dr. Harlow Shapley, chairman of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, wired the President: "If the military establishment receives any sum approaching $15,000,000,000 and if we are still to achieve the desirable balancing of the national budget, there is small possibility of implementing the domestic program which you enunciated."

The **Wall St. Journal** commented editorially: "We arrive by slow degrees at the point which other more revolutionary people reach in one stride."

COOPERATIVE LABOR. Labor's top officials found nothing to quarrel with in the President's proposed amendments to the Wagner Act, nor in his request for a wage freeze.

Philip Murray, president of the CIO, said the labor section of the message was "in the best traditions of American liberalsm. . . I am sure that both labor and management groups, meeting within the spirit and the framework of the President's message, can reach substantial agreement, once the Wagner Act is restored, on any problems that may arise."

William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, said: "The American Federation of Labor will be glad to cooperate in such a constructive program. After the Taft-Hartley Act is repealed and the original Wagner Act restored, we will be more than willing to give sympathetic consideration to suggested amendments to the Wagner Act which seek to strengthen the processes of collective bargaining and to promote a higher degree of labor-management peace."

On Friday, the President reiterated most of the message's major points in his Economic Report. His recipe for maintaining full employment in 1949 was: 1,000,000 more jobs, $8 to $10 billion more production and a more equitable distribution of purchasing power.

The lineup

THIS was the Congress to which the President spoke: In the House there were 263 Democrats, 171 Republicans and 1 American Labor Party representative. In the Senate there were 54 Democrats and 42 Republicans.

On Monday, the day the 81st was born, children of the nation's legislators romped in the aisles in gala mood. The new Congress, despite certain novel facial expressions, was seen to bear unmistakable resemblances to its predecessor.

Continued in wide column on next page.

Freedom Crusade

CALLS for a National Civil Rights Legislative Conference and a People's Freedom Crusade to be held in Washington Jan. 17 and 18 were in the mails this week and the Civil Rights Congress, sponsoring both actions, predicted that at least 800 delegates will attend the conference.

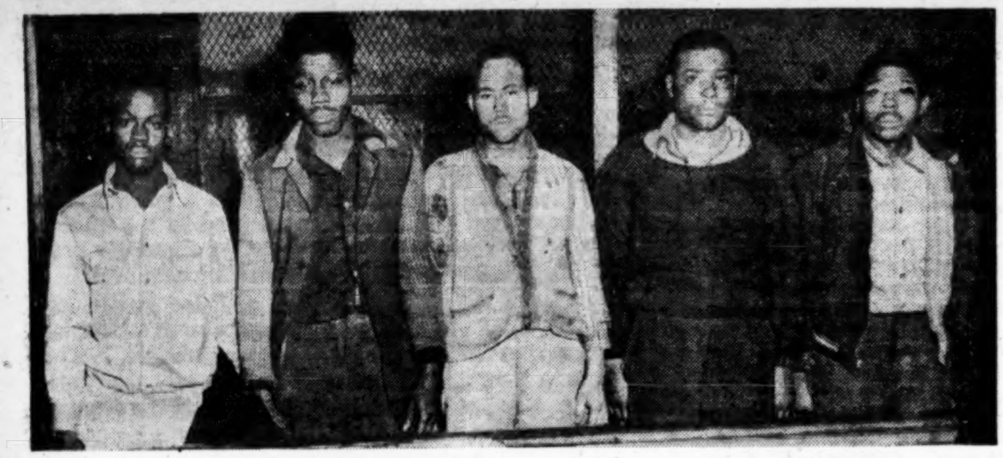
Thousands are expected to join the Crusade which will "demand payment of the election campaign promissory notes" on civil rights legislation.

The call is signed by 150 individuals representing a wide range of organizations and political views. It said, in part:

"As Americans of differing political faiths, of all religions, Negro and white, Jew and gentile, we are determined that we will not be lesser men in the struggle for freedom than were our forefathers."

The Legislative Conference will consider such problems as anti-lynch legislation, anti-poll tax laws, enactment of a fair employment practices law, repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, dismissal of the indictments against the leaders of the Communist Party and revocation of the Loyalty Order.

The Conference will be held in the AFL Laborer's Union auditorium, while the large public meeting on the 18th will be held in Uline Arena, the capital's largest auditorium. Members of Congress will be among the speakers.



These are five of the six men condemned to die in the Horner murder case in Trenton. Left to right: Collis English, Ralph Cooper, James Thorpe, McKinley Forest, Horace Wilson. The sixth, John McKenzie, had not been arrested when this picture was taken last February in Trenton Police Court.

The Trenton Case

Were Horner killers white? Neighbors scared to talk

By William A. Reuben

TRENTON, N. J.

BOYD JOHNSON, a 46-year-old Negro window-cleaner here, has a startling story to tell about the murder of William Horner on Broad Street, Trenton, last January, for which six innocent Negroes have been sentenced to die.

For the last 17 years Johnson has moved up and down Broad Street every Wednesday, cleaning the windows of every store on the block. As he cleans, he chats with the owners who pay for his services.

In an exclusive interview for GUARDIAN he told me about chats he had after the conviction of the six Negroes, when all Trenton was excited about the case, with William Klein, a jeweler whose store is next door to the one where Horner was killed, and Frank Warren, whose shoe-repair shop is directly across the street.

Johnson said both Klein and Warren told him they saw two white men leave Horner's store shortly after the murder.

LATE BREAKFAST. When I walked into Klein's jewelry store after speaking to Johnson, I was greeted by a smiling, white-haired man in his early sixties. "How do you do?" he said. "What can I do for you?"

I smiled back and told him that perhaps he could tell me who killed William Horner.

An agitated tone came into his voice.

"I don't know anything about it!"

"Johnson, the window cleaner, said you told him that you saw two white men leave the store just before Horner's wife came out."

"No, sir! I never said that! I didn't see anything!" Klein said excitedly.

"We were upstairs, we were both upstairs!" his wife cried, moving toward us from the other end of the store.

"Yes, we were having breakfast," Klein said.

"We didn't see a thing until they took him away in the stretcher," his wife said.

I asked them if they were both having breakfast at 11 o'clock in the morning and they assured me that they were.

YES AND NO. "That window cleaner is always drunk. How can you believe what that drunken man says?" Mrs. Klein said.

What kind of man was Horner, did you know him at all? I asked.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Klein answered my question simultaneously. As he said "No," she was saying that he was a nice old man who would drop into their store every day.

Just before I left, GUARDIAN's photographer snapped a picture of me talking to the Kleins. He ran out from behind the counter and lunged at the camera, with amazing speed for such an elderly man.

"You've got no right to take a picture here, it's against the law," Klein shouted. "We've been in business here for 50 years. We've never been in trouble and we don't want to get in trouble now."

I told him I didn't want to cause him any trouble, but that six men were facing the electric chair for a crime they could not have committed and that anyone with information about the crime should present it."

"We didn't see a thing, we don't know a thing about it," they both called out again as I left their store.

RELUCTANT COBBLER. Across the street, I repeated Johnson's story to Frank Warren, the shoe-repair man, who is 78.

Warren denied ever having talked to Johnson, having seen anything, or knowing anything at all about the killing. He kept repeating, throughout the half hour I spent talking to him, that he hadn't seen a thing until an ambulance came — even though his storefront faces the Horner store, across a street no more than 15 yards wide.

HELPFUL MINISTER. To check on Johnson's reliability, I went to see Rev. D. M. Owens, pastor of the largest Negro church in Trenton, and president of the Ministers' Alliance, an organization with which all Negro ministers in Trenton are affiliated. Rev. Owens' A.M.E. Church is on Montgomery Street, a block away from where Johnson lives.

Rev. Owens has been friendly to GUARDIAN in the past. When I told him about the conflicting stories and asked him whether Johnson could be believed, he telephoned Johnson and asked him to come over.

In the minister's presence, Johnson said: "Mr. Klein said to me, 'Those colored boys didn't kill Horner. I saw two white men come out of the store.' Not long after that, Mr. Warren told me the same thing—that he saw two white men come out."

Johnson said he had been cleaning windows for the Kleins for 17 years, that their store was open for business at nine every morning, and that one or the other was always in the store.

"I've got six kids to support, and I don't want to get into no trouble neither," Johnson said, and he was very sober.

"But I don't want six boys to die for a crime that they didn't do."

Case history

THE CRIME: William Horner, 73, beaten to death in his Trenton furniture shop last Jan. 27.

THE ACCUSED: Police armed with tommyguns rushed to Negro neighborhood, arrested six Negroes. Witnesses' stories mentioned **two** and **three** men as having been seen leaving the store after the crime.

THE EVIDENCE: "Signed" confessions of the six, repudiated in court. Strong indications that men had been beaten and drugged before signing. "Confessions" did not jibe as to number of men involved.

THE ALIBI: Employers, neighbors, co-workers placed the accused far from scene at time of the crime.

THE VERDICT: Death in the electric chair for all six. They are in the death house as New Jersey Supreme Court considers appeal.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

Party labels were mingled in different proportions, but bipartisanship smoothed the surface frictions on all important issues. Campaign rancors had subsided. Dixiecrats were back in their accustomed seats on the Democratic side of the aisle.

First man at the hopper on opening day was Rep. Donald O'Toole (D-N.Y.) who rushed to file a measure granting Herbert Hoover a pension of $25,000 a year. (The pension would go to others too, who might in time become ex-Presidents.)

In all there were 570 bills filed that first day. Many were weightier.

UN-AMERICANS LIVE. As the opening day approached, shouts for the death of the House Un-American Activities Committee were toned down to earnest pleas to make it behave. When the gavel sounded last Monday noon, few doubted that the Committee would be given a new lease on life.

The Administration's opportunity to kill the Committee came in the formal resolution to continue the rules of the outgoing Congress. The proposal could have included an exception eliminating the Committee.

There was no word of it in the resolution offered by Rep. Adolph J. Sabath (D-Ill.) who will head the Rules Committee. That silence consented to the Committee's life.

CARDS STACKED. Many representatives had ready at hand amendments to the motion on rules that would have abolished the Committee. The newly-elected Speaker of the House, Sam Rayburn (D-Tex.), refused to recognize anyone for such a motion.

"Plain bunk"

After Monday's session Rep. Marcantonio charged: "The Democratic caucus arranged it so there could be no fight against the Committee on Un-American Activities. . . The Democratic Party stacked the cards against the people.

"All this big talk against the Committee on Un-American Activities was just plain bunk. They never meant it and the results prove it. The people were once again betrayed."

TRIM T.-H.? As with the Un-American Committee, so with the Taft-Hartley Law. Early campaign yells of "Off with its head" were softened last week to advocating a slight trim.

Rep. John Lesinski (D-Mich.), new chairman of the House Labor Committee, announced last week that his group will not content itself with repealing Taft-Hartley and re-enacting the Wagner Act. It will write a new bill to strike a balance between the two.

Union spokesmen (who wouldn't let their names be used) feared a "run-around" in the Committee's procedure and stressed again that the Democrats had won the election on the promise to repeal Taft-Hartley, not to enact a new, unpredictable labor bill.

They were alarmed, too, at the decision of Sen. Elbert Thomas, chairman of the Senate Labor Committee, to postpone consideration of controversial measures which might mean putting off action on Taft-Hartley till the closing days of the session.

OR KILL IT. One bill calculated to destroy the act and repair some of its damage was dropped in the hopper on Monday by Rep. Marcantonio.

His bill would: (1) Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act; (2) Reinstate the Wagner Act; (3) Abolish the present National Labor Relations Board "because of its notorious anti-labor bias," and replace it with another; (4) Offer "redress for labor to correct injuries sustained under the Taft-Hartley Law both in courts and by the Board."

OPEN-SHOP STATES. One of the Taft-Hartley Law's effects was to ban the closed shop. Whether the law stays on the books or not, state regulations against the closed shop are constitutional, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled last week. Thirteen states in all have outlawed the closed shop.

Rules decision

POWER TO PIGEONHOLE. While moves to sustain the Un-American Committee and salvage select parts of the

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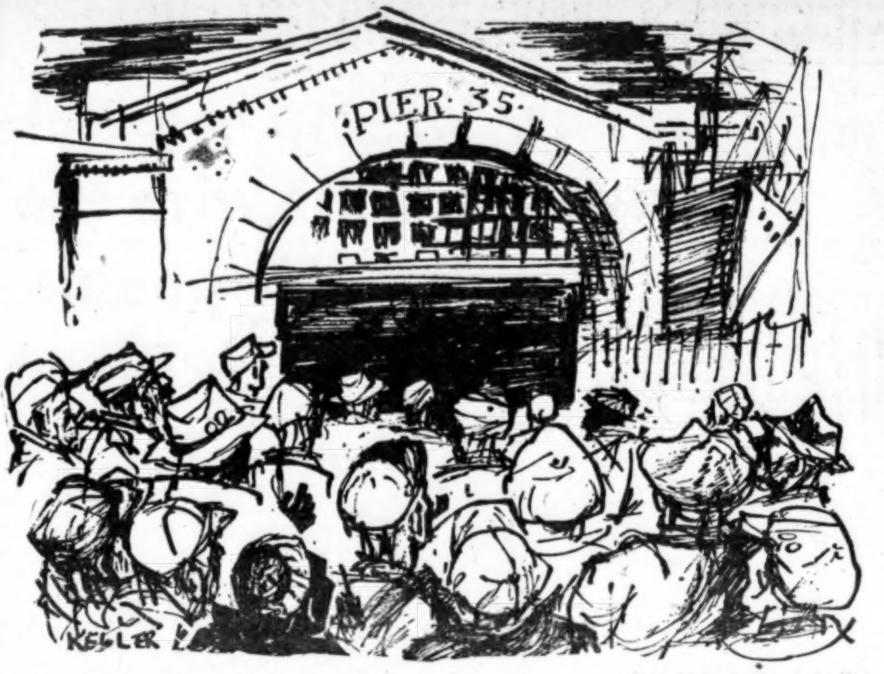
IS THIS YOUR LAST ISSUE? SEE PAGE 12



On the waterfront

Rank-and-file is really after King Joe Ryan

By Alex Leith

THE rank-and-file movement in the International Longshoremen's Assn. is going to give president Joe Ryan, once absolute "king" of all our coasts, anxious days and nights in the coming year.

Rank-and-file revolt, always stirring in the shadows of ILA despotism, flared up in November when 45,000 East Coast longshoremen spontaneously struck against intolerable conditions and the pitiful contract signed by Joe Ryan.

During the November days, thousands of striking longshoremen looked for leadership to rank-and-file committees which took over completely in Brooklyn and spread down the coast to Baltimore and inland to Philadelphia.

With the men back at work, the committees are still very much alive and kicking against conditions on the piers and the absence of democracy in the locals.

VICTORY PREDICTION. Ryan, who was elected for a life term in 1943, has weathered many upheavals of the savagely exploited dockmen. But today he faces an opposition that promises the rank-and-file sustained organization and leadership. The opposition has entered a full slate in Philadelphia's powerful "deep sea" local elections next month and says it will win.

Strongest opposition to Ryan in the port of New York is in Brooklyn where the rank-and-file committee set up the only strike relief apparatus in the port, and where 9,000 longshoremen returned to work only after rank-and-file leaders told them to.

Today's rank-and-file movement is a far cry from the underground movement of 1939 whose leaders had to operate under the threats of Murder Inc. and leaders like the late Emil Camarda. That the threats were vividly real was demonstrated when Pete Panto, fiery rank-and-file leader, was murdered after being warned by Camarda that "the boys don't like what you're doing." Panto's murderers are still at large.

NO HIDING. The present movement is above ground—four flights up. The Brooklyn rank-and-file committee recently purchased a four-story building at 565 Henry St. as a center where longshoremen will soon have their own meeting halls, medical and dental clinics, pharmacy, legal department, insurance counsellor and recreation rooms. The purchase price was raised by loans and is to be repaid through the sale of $5 shares to the longshoremen.

The success of the insurrection may well depend on the longshoremen of Local 791 in Manhattan's Chelsea district. They led the rank-and-file ILA movements in 1945, 1947 and 1948. Each time their leader, Gene Sampson,, has led them back into Ryan's fold. This is one rank-and-file revolt that Sampson will not lead. The big question is whether his men will follow him or the boys from Brooklyn.

SLAVE MARKET. Everyone who knows the waterfront agrees that the shape-up is the breeding ground for all that is rotten there. Longshoremen call it the "slave market." This is the system whereby the men form a half circle at 7:55 a.m. and again at 12:55 p.m. and the hiring foreman calls out the gangs and the men he wants. The settlement of the November strike left the shape-up untouched.

The rank-and-file is out to replace this with the union hiring hall, now in operation on the West Coast and in a number of European ports. In the union hiring hall, stevedore gangs and men are hired in strict rotation. No "shape." No favoritism. No kick-back. No cut-throat competition. No chronic over-supply of labor. And, many believe, no Ryan.

IT'S A CRIME. A petition for the hiring hall, now circulating in ILA ports, recently received unexpected impetus from two quarters. District Attorney Hogan, assigned by Mayor O'Dwyer to follow the trail of racketeering on the waterfront, ran smack into the shape-up and called it the chief source of waterfront crime.

The big showdown between Ryan and the rank-and-file will probably come in September when the current contract expires. But the rank-and-file isn't waiting. It is demanding now that the negotiating committee be elected and that negotiations be public. This is popular with the men. One longshoreman summed it up this way during the strike:

"Let's have negotiations out in the open — in Madison Square Garden. We'll put the negotiating committee and the Shipping Association in the ring and fill the hall with dock wallopers. The first to make a wrong move gets crowned."

Mission

A DRAFT of $22.25 was received recently by Bishop Wallace E. Conkling, at the headquarters of the Episcopal diocese of Chicago. The draft was from an Episcopal mission church in Kailahun, Sierra Leone, West Africa. Bishop Conkling was directed to use it for missionary work in Chicago.

The Sierra Leone project was the result of a sermon in Kailahun by the Rev. Ralph T. Milligan, O.H.C., on "the evils of civilization and the bad habits of some Americans in their neglect of Christianity."

The $22.25 represents the total of the Easter offering saved through Lent, 1948, by the 300 Christians and catechumens (those studying to be Christians).

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

Taft-Hartley Law were reported quietly, press headlines proclaimed a change in the procedure of the Rules Committee.

Under the rules of the 80th Congress, any bill could be pigeonholed by the Rules Committee and exhumed only by a majority vote of the House. The new rules voted by the House on Monday provide that after the Rules Committee has held on to a bill for more than 21 days, any committee chairman can move that it be brought to the floor for debate.

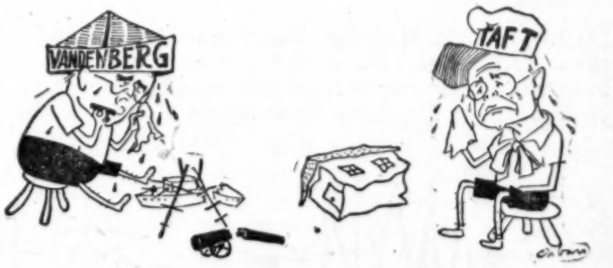
Before such a motion can be made, the committee chairman must be recognized by House Speaker Sam Rayburn. It seemed last week that the power to pigeonhole had not been abolished but only transferred from the Rules Committee to the Speaker.

The difference lay in the bills to be pigeonholed. The Rules Committee, by an alliance of Southern Democrats and Republicans, could tie up Administration measures. Sam Rayburn is more likely to go along with Administration wishes. Arthur Krock, writing in the New York Times, described the Speaker as seated "firmly on the safety valve."

GOP CASUALTIES. The victorious Democrats' behavior during the squaring-off day of the 81st Congress had Republican old-guarders Vandenberg (Mich.) and Taft (Ohio) in a tizzy Wednesday afternoon. A Democratic blow "implicit with hostility" had been struck against bipartisan foreign policy, said Sen. Vandenberg, when GOP membership on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was pruned to its irreducible minimum of five.

Taft mournfully denounced the majority party for "breaking the bipartisan Senatorial front" on the domestic issue of housing. The Ohio Senator and would-be President, whose name was on the by-passed housing bill presented to the 80th Congress, said he had "just been shouldered aside."

He elbowed his way back into the picture on Thursday with the announcement that he would sponsor a housing bill providing only half as many units as the Administration measure. The 1,000,000-unit objective set by the President was a fatal first step toward socialization, the Senator said.



Civil liberties

THE nation's liberties seemed last week to turn about one day, Jan. 17. Three developments pointed to that Monday with fateful coincidence.

In New York's Federal Court the 12 leaders of the Communist Party were scheduled to stand trial on that day, charged with adhering to proscribed principles, teaching them, organizing a party to spread them.

The case grew out of indictments handed down by a Federal Grand Jury last July. Last week defense lawyers charged that of the jury panel of 400, many came from New York's swanky upper Fifth Avenue section, only two came from a Negro neighborhood, three from the city's populous working-class areas.

Attorneys may ask for a postponement of the trial pending an investigation of the Grand Jury's selection. Last week the court appointed doctors to examine ailing William Z. Foster, one of the party's secretaries, to see if he was able to stand trial.

THE CASTAWAY. In the same building on the same day the former chairman of the House Un-American Committee, Rep. J. Parnell Thomas (R-N.J.), was scheduled to be tried for padding his payroll as a Congressman and extracting kickbacks from his employees.

His former colleagues seemed unembarrassed by the fate of their fallen leader.

The Civil Rights Congress was set to bring thousands down to Washington on the 17th to confer on civil rights, then lobby Congressmen directly.

WORLD ROUNDUP

Marshall out

THE President topped off his busy week with the announcement on Friday that Secretary of State Marshall and Undersecretary Robert A. Lovett would resign as of Jan. 20.

Former Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson was chosen to take Marshall's place and ex-Budget Director James E. Webb was selected to replace Lovett.

Significance of the move was hard to appraise immediately. The President emphasized that the shifts did not presage any change in U.S. foreign policy. He said the President made policy.

Those who looked for a softening of our policy toward Russia recalled that last Aug. 30 A. A. Berle, former Assistant Secretary of State, said he had left the department because his "get-tough" attitude toward Russia had been rejected by the then Undersecretary, Dean Acheson, and by Alger Hiss.

Others remembered that during the Berlin crisis at the end of September Acheson had said: "The Russian efforts to consolidate and to extend their power have not ceased. They may be intensified. But the tide has turned against them."

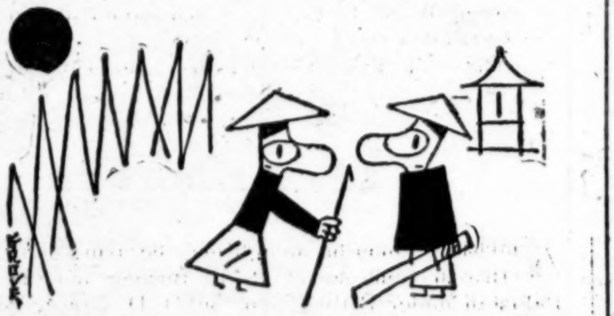
Peace in China

CHINESE peace talk swept like a flood around President Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek last week—and all but submerged him. Chairmen of seven provisional and national councils in North China sent pleas for peace directly to the Communists. The President's own vague hints at peace were denounced by the Communist radio as sham and he was still billed by them as "War Criminal No. 1."

American Marines at Tsingtao boarded their ships in the harbor while reports spread that, faced with an imminent peace in China, they were evacuating. An American source in Shanghai said that the report of the American withdrawal was not wrong; "just premature."

Communist forces were shelling Tientsin in the north and the surrounded encampments of Chiang's forces southwest of Suchow. A general, fleeing from that trap, reported that the troops there had eaten all horses and other animals they had with them, and that hundreds were deserting.

TO THE REAR, MARCH. Communist troops were edging closer to Nanking too, while Nationalist warlords, operating quite independently from Chiang's headquarters, withdrew south to Hankow. Generals in charge of the rearward march were Pai Ching-hsi, Ma Hung-kuei and Ma Pu-fang. All three have ignored the Generalissimo's summons to confer with him at Nanking and their moves caused a flurry of speculation.



Ici Paris

"We retreated so fast we had no time to lose face"

Far East expert Ilona Ralf Sues saw the three as a possible nucleus about which U.S. strategy might build. The State Dept. has been frantically searching for a means to replace the weakening Chiang.

Both Ma Hung-kuei and Ma Pu-fang are Mohammedan and might fit well into a pattern of Mohammedan anti-Communism taking shape throughout the Near East, India and Pakistan, Miss Sues said.

U.S. EXPORT. Communist forces were continuing their quiet siege of Peiping. The city was surrounded and could be taken apparently at will, but Communist strategy was to let it ripen on the bough. They held Yenching University, six miles outside the city, where classes continued as usual. Three American professors agreed there had been no trouble.

A United Press correspondent also found little difficulty in dealing with Communist soldiers who expressed active curiosity about him. One fingered his topcoat and

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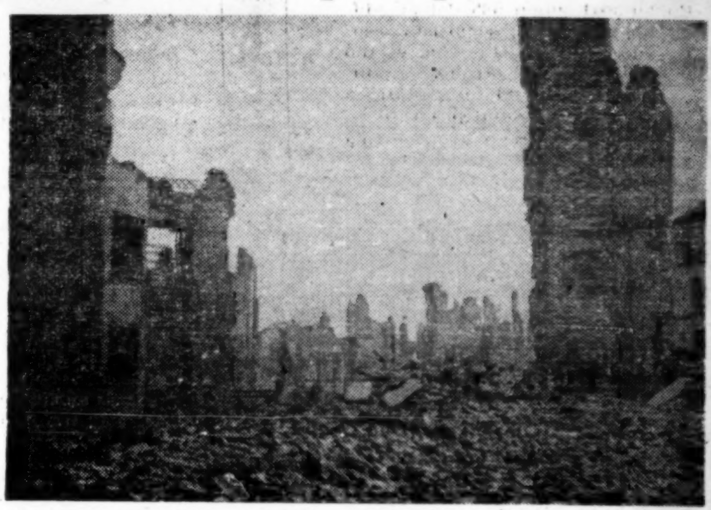
Albert E. Kahn

Warsaw will be a jewel—a new city built with the bare hands of its people



Warsaw, 1945: This was once a street

IT is almost four years since the liberation of Warsaw, and the Polish people have accomplished wonders of reconstruction; but if you are human you cannot even now see the city for the first time without weeping. The destruction is so indescribably terrible.

Out of it weeds and wild flowers are growing. Underneath, you know, that thousands of human bodies still lie, for it has been impossible to excavate them all as yet. . . .

Growing also out of the death and desolation, are the men and women of the new Poland.

NEW WORLDS FOR OLD. One afternoon I was walking through a ruined section of Warsaw where reconstruction had not yet begun. I was passing down a narrow street, flanked by huge mounds of crumbled masonry, grotesquely twisted girders, lone chimneys and other bits of buildings.

All about me was silence, emptiness, devastation. It was like walking among the ruins of some ancient city that had been destroyed centuries before by some great natural catastrophe.

Then suddenly—strangely and wonderfully—I heard the sound of women's voices in song, and around a corner I was approaching there came a group of young women, with clean ruddy complexions, strong firm bodies, gay eyes and flowing hair, clothed in simple immaculate dresses, and all of them singing as they strode along.

And there, in that youth and indomitable song, amid this awful wreckage and remnant of holocaust, you had the spirit of the new Poland.

BARE HANDS. When you know not only what the Poles endured at the hands of the Nazis, but also the semi-feudal character of Poland before the war, their achievements under their new government seem little short of miraculous.

Most of the reconstruction work has been done by the people literally with their bare hands. It is part of the present foreign policy of the U.S. government to refuse to sell to Poland the modern building equipment and tools it so desperately needs.

As General Grosz, the 41-year-old Minister of Information—one of two Polish Commanders who wear the Order of Lenin—said to me: "We could use less advice about democracy from America and more bulldozers."

Yet half of Warsaw has already been rebuilt (its present population is more than 600,000). When the new city is completed, in accordance with the architects' and engineers' master plan, it will be one of the most modern and beautiful cities in any land.

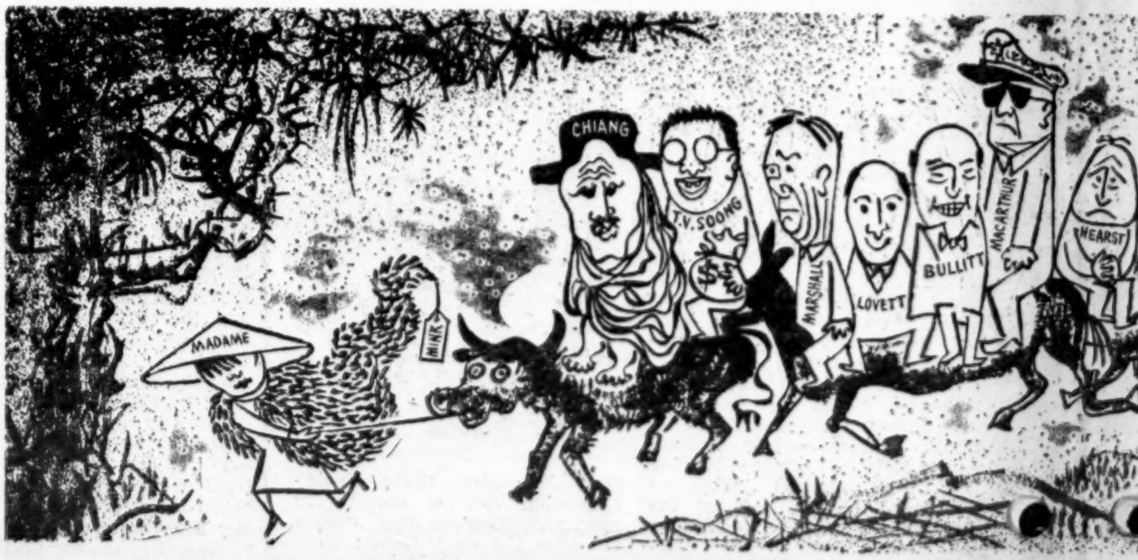
Warsaw's most popular magazine, **Reconstruction**, contains only news and photographs of the re-creation of the city.

In the rural areas, division of the land among the peasants has been followed by introduction of the most modern farming methods. Peasants, who until recently labored in the fields with primitive scythes, mattocks and wooden plows, are now renting modern tractors at low rates; the tractors are of course still far too few, but at the end of a six-year production plan there will be more than 50,000 of them. A program for electrification of the entire countryside is under way.

Warsaw, 1948: Reconstruc

In the villages, new schools are rising. The age-old ignorance and poverty of the Polish countryside are being swept away by a revolutionary wind.

35,000,000 BOOKS. "The Poles do not need universities or schools," the late Hans Frank, German



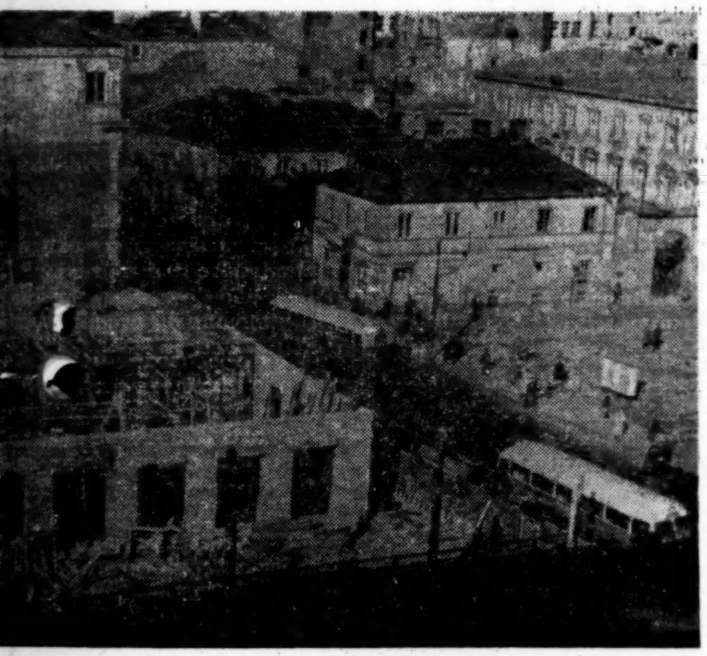
Retreat fr

Governor-General of Poland, said during the Nazi occupation, "The Polish lands are to be changed into an intellectual desert." Over 90% of Poland's educational facilities and equipment—including more than 6,000 schools and 16,000,000 books—was systematically destroyed by the Germans. Polish teachers were carefully hunted down and killed.

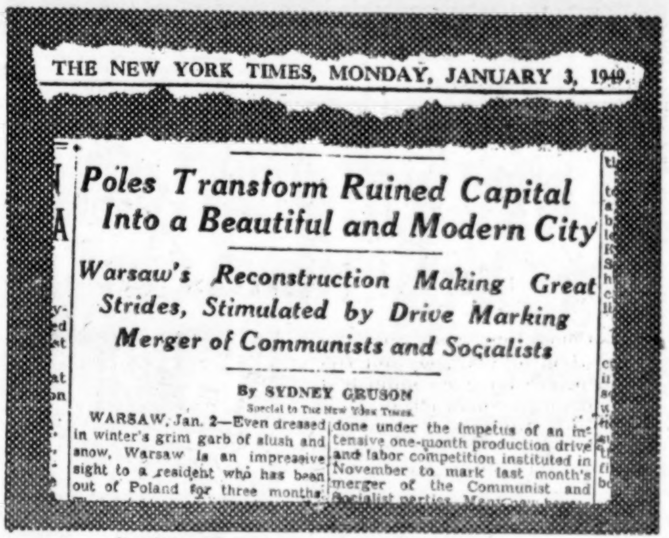
Yet scarcely had the Nazi Wehrmacht been driven from Polish soil when 685 Polish educators, students, scientists, representatives of the clergy and delegates from various organizations gathered to plan a gigantic educational program.

At first, lacking printing equipment which the Germans had removed, teachers and students produced new textbooks by copying them by hand from the few books that had been saved from the Nazis. Since then a new textbook publishing house operated by the government has printed 35,000,000 books. Today more than one tenth of the national budget of Poland is spent on education.

CULTURE FOR ALL. Throughout the nation there is a vast upsurge of cultural activity. In 1947 trade union theatre groups alone gave 26,000 performances of plays, which were seen by 6,600,000 persons. Every trade union has its own literary circles, painting classes, orchestras and dancing groups; and the unions publish 9,000 shop papers and maintain more than 2,000 libraries.



onstruction work nearly completed on Nowy Swiat Street



THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, JANUARY 3, 1949.

Poles Transform Ruined Capital Into a Beautiful and Modern City

Warsaw's Reconstruction Making Great Strides, Stimulated by Drive Marking Merger of Communists and Socialists

By SYDNEY GRUSON

Special to The New York Times.

WARSAW, Jan. 2—Even dressed in winter's grim garb of slush and snow, Warsaw is an impressive sight to a resident who has been out of Poland for three months.

done under the impetus of an intensive one-month production drive and labor competition instituted in November to mark last month's merger of the Communist and

Confirmation from an unexpected source

It is impossible to meet the popular demand for books. In the U.S., a large first edition of a book is 10,000 copies. In Poland, with a population one-sixth as large as that of the U.S., the first translated edition of Sayers' and my book, **The Great Conspiracy**, is 100,000 copies.

NEW PEOPLE. One consideration dominates all else in the new Poland: concern for the welfare of human beings. On every side you see wonderful evidence of this.

The treatment of prospective mothers is typical. When a woman in a factory gives birth to a child, she receives six weeks off with full pay before the child is born and six weeks afterwards. During pregnancy she is under the constant care of the factory physician; and if he feels that her work is too difficult or fatiguing she is transferred to a department where the work is easier, and her rate of pay remains unchanged.

After the child has been born, if the mother wishes to nurse her infant, she is given half an hour off every three hours, with pay.

Connected with the factories are immaculately-kept creches and kindergartens; and although the kindergartens have perhaps one toy for every ten that we can provide in the U.S., the care of the children is as thoughtful and scientific as it is in the most up-to-date (and most expensive) progressive American schools.

The average Polish worker today pays 150 zlotys a month for rent, which is equal to about thirty cents in American money. When a worker goes on his vacation, his traveling expenses are paid and he can stay at some of the most beautiful resorts in all Europe at negligible cost. All medical care is free.

MAN-SHAPED DESTINY. It was not without certain preconceived ideas that I went to Poland. I believed beforehand that a great democratic revolution was taking place there. Yet, even so, I was astounded at what I saw.

It is one thing to believe that people in a distant land are building a new world. It is another thing actually to see that new world coming into being; a world in which the abilities of all are recognized and given opportunity for expression — in which the creative capacities of man are unrestrained—in which it is not profits, but men, that are shaping destiny.

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

asked him if it was American made. The reporter said that it was. The Communist soldier grinned and held up his carbine: "This also is American," he said.

Former Ambassador to Russia William C. Bullitt told Congress that what Chiang's China needed was an American general, an adequate staff of able officers, and $800,000,000 for more carbines, among other things. Douglas MacArthur would do as the general, Bullitt said.

Land of Egypt

A WEEK ago an Israeli armored column pursued Egyptians southward through the Negev to the border town of Auja. Then, encountering no obstacles, they let the momentum of the chase carry them 35 miles into Egypt. They took the crossroads town of Abu Agugeila, then headed west, shooting up airfields and hauling off Spitfires in good condition.

A small band of Israelis entered the town of El Arish with guns blazing, but did not try to hold it. For three days the Israelis attended to various jobs inside the border, meeting little opposition; then they retired with their prisoners and their Spitfires to Israeli soil.

The British took a graver view of that "invasion" than of the one that brought the Egyptians into Palestine. They warned that they might be bound by their treaty of mutual assistance to come to the aid of invaded Egypt.

KNIGHTS ERRANT. Invaded Egypt embarrassed Britain by conspicuously failing to call for help. The treaty to which Britain referred had been denounced by the Egyptians.

The British announced they would proclaim their obligations before the Security Council, but in Cairo the government party newspaper Al Assas said editorially last week that Egypt could no longer "pour out its life and blood for other Arab states" and that the entire Israel situation would have to be reconsidered.

The following day Egypt and Israel consented to a cease-fire and Egypt requested immediate peace parleys. The U.N. was to supervise the conferences which would take up all outstanding questions between the two countries. That left the British with no Egyptians to champion.

DELICATE BALANCE. The N. Y. Times correspondent in Cairo cabled: "There is no doubt in the minds of observers here that for strategic reasons the British do not want Israel to hold Negev or Gaza. They consider that growing force of Israelis may seriously upset the balance of power in the Middle East and would like to reinforce the Arabs if a way could be found."

The U. S. State Dept. had been persuaded by the British earlier in the week to ask the Israelis their intentions. By midweek Washington communiques had emphatically disassociated the U. S. from British efforts in Israel.

Kashmir peace

AFTER 14 months of fighting, the army of India under British Gen. Sir F. R. R. Bucher and the army of Pakistan under British Gen. Sir D. D. Gracey ceased fire last week. They had been fighting over the princely state

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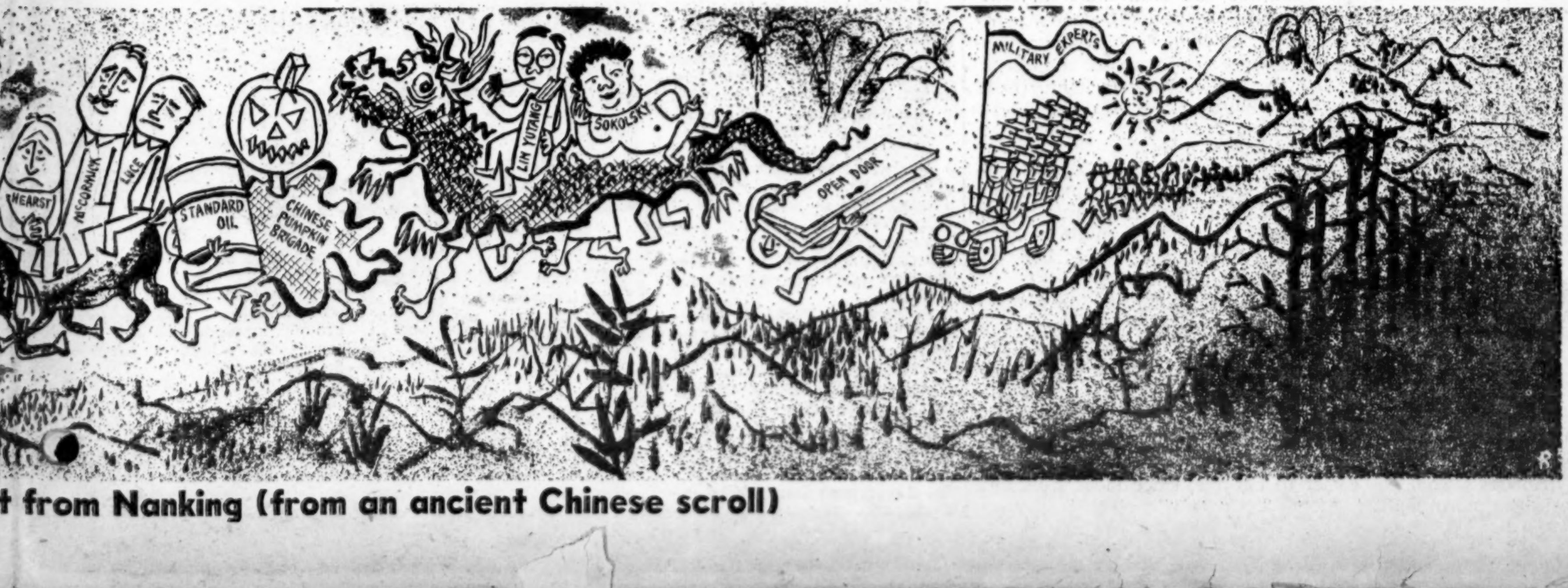

t from Nanking (from an ancient Chinese scroll)

WORLD ROUNDUP

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of Kashmir, a country wedged in the mountains on the borders of India, Pakistan and Afghanistan, and separated only by a thin strip of land from the Soviet Union.

Most of its 4,000,000 people are Moslem but its Maharajah, Sir Hari Singh, is Hindu. Its prime minister, Sheik Abdullah (known locally as the Tiger of Kashmir), is liberal and, though a Moslem, is more inclined to India than to Pakistan.

A prime point of interest in Kashmir is the airfield of Gilgit close to the Russian frontier. It was manned by the British during the war.

Under the truce agreement the future of the province will be decided by a plebiscite under U.N. supervision.

BORDER ON DESPAIR. No sooner had the governments of Pakistan and India come to terms than both spoke out jointly and firmly on Indonesia.

Pakistan's Foreign Minister Zafrullah Khan cabled to U.N.'s Trygve Lie: "Failure of the Security Council to enforce effective remedial measures [in Indonesia] has given rise to disappointment bordering almost upon despair that the U.N. would ever be able to handle any threat to international peace effectively, particularly if it involved aggression by a Western nation against an Eastern nation."

Throughout East Asia governments were selecting delegates to attend a conference on Indonesia called by India's Prime Minister Nehru.

Indonesia war

NO RECIPE. Concerning the military situation in Indonesia, GUARDIAN military analyst Max Werner reported that the Indonesian army, when attacked, numbered seven divisions in Java and four in Sumatra. Only 60% of the soldiers in Sumatra and 50% in Java had rifles. There was practically no artillery and only a few field pieces. That army has now taken to the hills to become a guerrilla fighting force.

Against them there are 10 Dutch divisions (130,000 men) well trained and armed with U.S. and British weapons, within easy reach of supply bases in Southeast Asia.

Correspondent Werner wrote: "It is quite possible that this fighting in Indonesia may become the last big-scale colonial war in our time. . . In spite of their superiority in arms the Dutch attempt to reconquer Indonesia may face a bleak future. The big question of this war is not whether a guerrilla war can wear down and thus defeat a regular colonial army. Certainly it can. The problem in this richest colonial area in the world is whether the Indonesians will have enough persistence and will to hold out. If they have, they possess more than 75% of the chances for winning the campaign, and there is no evidence that their will to resist will collapse. No military recipe has yet been invented to break a protracted, large scale guerrilla war."

First governor

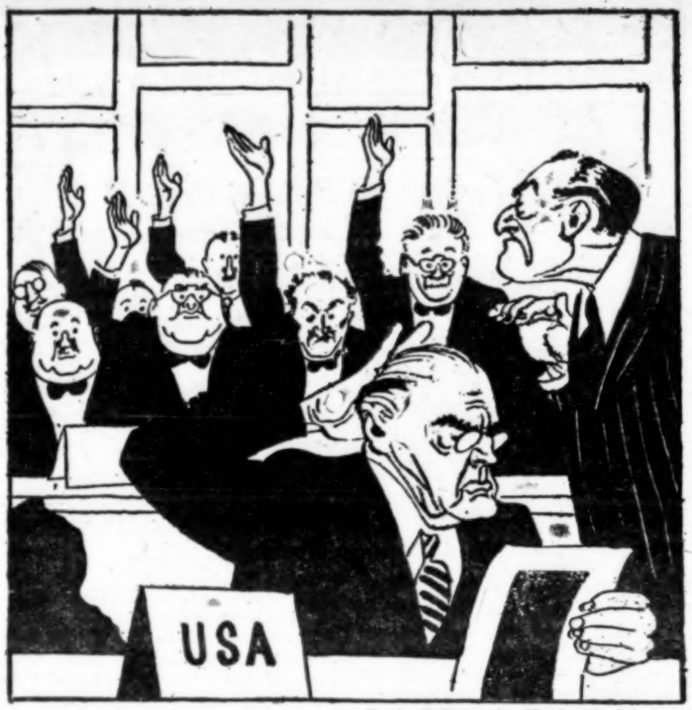
NO INDEPENDENCE; NO ISSUE. The President sent another message last week—to congratulate Luis Munoz Marin who became the first popularly elected Governor of Puerto Rico. The new Governor was once a liberal free-lance writer in New York's Greenwich Village.

In his inaugural address, he termed colonialism "obsolete" and asserted that "independence was not the issue." The opposition was quick to counter by pointing to U. S. air, naval and army bases throughout the island.

FOOTSIE-WOOTSIE VERBOTEN. During the holiday week some Americans and Russians dined together in Berlin. One minor American official wished his Russian counterpart "all the best." Word of the wish came to the ears of Col. Frank L. Howley, American military commandant in Berlin. Last week Howley angrily forbade all such wishes in season or out.

He said: "None of my men are going to play footsie-wootsie with the Russians under such conditions as their intolerable blockade . . . Let them eat their own food. They can damn well eat their own shank bones of German cattle."

In the early days after the war, non-fraternization efforts affecting relations with Germans and Japanese were sketchily enforced. Military men last week pointed out that Howley's would be easier to enforce, since most Russians in Berlin are male.



Boris Iefimov in Krokodil, Moscow

An embarrassing moment at the U. N. Assembly: "Gentlemen, gentlemen — please put your hands down! Mr. Austin is only smoothing his hair."

This is the lineup as Israel prepares for first election

By Arthur Hurwich

THE political picture in Israel is complex and unorthodox. Elections are set for Jan. 25 when 480,000, including about 40,000 Arabs, will be eligible to vote. 20 parties, each with 120 candidates, have entered lists.

Both of the largest parties are Laborite. The Mapai, which got 37% in 1944 at the last comparable election, dominates the present government. It draws its strength from the Histadrut and cooperative settlements, and the government's successes in the war and abroad.

The Mapam, a merger of two parties that drew 21.5% in 1944, is led by Moshe Sneh and is more to the left. It seeks closer relations with Russia instead of the present major reliance on the West. It takes credit for the Palmach, striking force of the Haganah, which Ben-Gurion's government dissolved. It also has support in the Histadrut and collective settlements.

The Communists, who got 2% in 1944 and who recently merged with the Arab Communists, are not expected to do much better.

SUPER - NATIONALISTS. Unknown quantity is the Freedom Movement led by Menachem Begin, chief of the extremist Irgun underground, who paid a much-advertised yet mysterious visit to the U.S.

Begin is widely believed to be a fascist. He appeals to nationalistic elements who want Transjordan as well as all of Palestine and who, like the Yemenite Jews, hate all Arabs. He also has support in the Revisionist party which was pro-fascist.

Because the Freedom Movement has liberal funds supplied by American friends, and is in big-time public relations, some observers predict it may emerge as the second largest party.

ARAB GOODWILL. The Arabs have entered separate lists from Nazareth, Haifa and Acre. Several Jewish party lists include Arab names.

Which brings us to the question of relations with the Arabs outside as well as inside Israel. Officially, Arabs in Israel are on a par politically and economically with Jews. Actually Israel is at war with its Arab neighbors.

But a basic fact usually overlooked is that the Arabs of Palestine have not taken part in the war against Israel. This contrasts with 1936-37, when the Arab masses responded to their leaders' call to massacre.

The years of co-operation, of struggle against the British overlords, and of rising living standards under Jewish leadership have paid off in mutual goodwill.

REFUGEE PROBLEM. That goodwill received its first blow when 300,000 Arabs fled their homes and businesses in Israel under the urging of the ex-Mufti, Haj Amin el Husseini. They expected to return behind triumphant Arab armies. Instead, they are existing miserably and half-starved in Iraq, Syria and Transjordan.

The United Nations is helping to feed them, a task beyond the ability of the half-bankrupt Arab governments. They are unlikely to return to Israel, which doesn't particularly want them back. And the Arab rulers, not to mention their British friends, are worried about having them settle permanently.

They probably will resent the lower living standards in Arab countries and upset the whole applecart, oil royalties and all.

That is what the oil companies have been worried about all along. They didn't want a democratic and prosperous State of Israel which by its example would give ideas to the people of the Middle East.

TOWARD PEACE. Inside Israel a beginning has been made in restoring good relations, but only a beginning. Arab shops and villages were looted during the fighting.

Now jobs are being found for Arab workers, schools have been set up. For the first time in Palestine history Arabs and Jews will work side by side in a textile factory to be built at Acre. Attempts are being made, both by the Histadrut and the Communist trade unions, to raise Arab wages to the Jewish level.

(This is the second and final article on Israel by Mr. Hurwic foreign editor of the N. Y. "Po Home News").

Reynolds News photo

LONDON

LAURIE is a bonnie lass. Eighteen months old, skin like smooth satin, a smile that would make a sucker out of Scrooge. There's not a happier baby in all of London.

Laurie is colored. She is one of 21 colored children taken into British homes through the work of the League of Colored People. A **Reynolds News** reporter and photographer went to visit Laurie's home and found a scene of bliss.

"She has brought sunshine to our home," said Laurie's adopted father (he and his wife have brought up a son and a daughter). "I hurry home at night to be with her."

The League is trying to find homes for 775 children and is getting fine cooperation from county boards and diocesa welfare organizations. We cou learn a lot about the absurdity of color lines from the people of England.

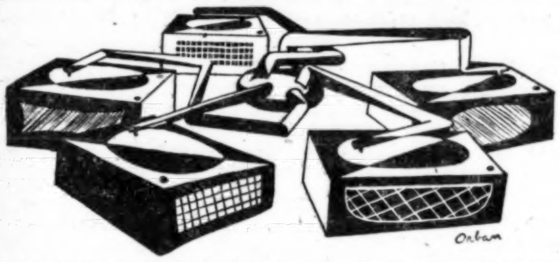
DOLLAR STRETCHER

Long-playing records

THE status of the new long-playing records has suddenly become completely confused by the threat of still another new type of disc—from giant RCA (Radio Corp. of America) which dominates and sometimes domineers the radio-record-and-video business. Here's the story, and it's enough to warn long-suffering consumers away from long-playing records for the time being:

Long-playing records, introduced by Columbia last Summer, turn 33⅓ revolutions to the minute as compared to 78 rpm for standard records. However, they require a special player at a cost of $29.50 or more; you can't play them on a standard phonograph. Since Columbia brought out the record, first Philco, then Webster, V-M and Zenith have introduced players, some of which have two arms or can be switched so they will play either the 33⅓ or 78 rpm records.

Now RCA has let it be known it plans to introduce its own long-playing records manufactured to turn 45 rpm. This will require still another player, or at least another playing arm.



The entire music industry is aghast at the confusion that will result from three different types of records on the market, each requiring a different playing arm or adjustment. In scores of cities, dealers are protesting the advent of the RCA 45 rpm record, **Retailing**, leading trade paper of the industry, reports.

Dealers canvassed by this writer say they are going ahead and selling the 33⅓ rpm players; but, they add, they expect the public will become completely disgusted with long-playing records if they are forced to buy a different attachment for each major company's discs. The public, of course, knows little or nothing of this situation, since dealers are reluctant to discourage sales of present LP players by warning their customers.

RCA may be forced by intra-trade protests to abandon its attempt to capture the new long-playing record business. But until the giant makes up its mind, it's risky to buy any kind of player.

—**Sidney Margolius**

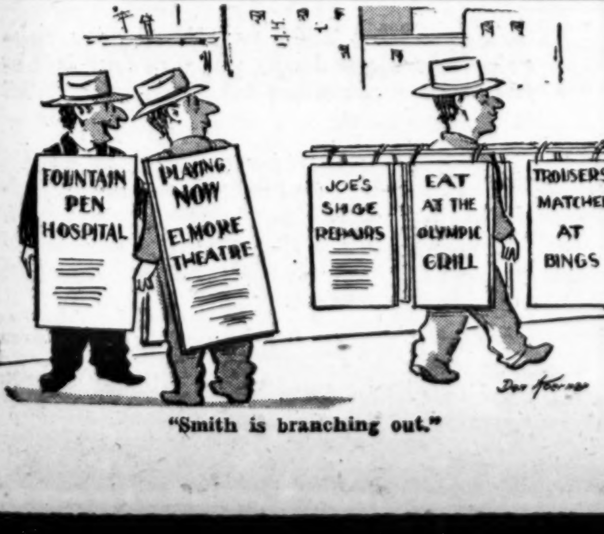
Landlords doing fine

WITH real estate interests promising an all-out battle in the new Congress against tighter rent controls, it's important for renters to know the true status of landlord profits under present controls.

- A survey of landlords in 13 cities shows they are 13% better off than last year. This is what U. S. Housing Expediter Tighe E. Woods recently told a consumer group, according to National Assn. of Consumers.
- Charles F. Noyes, dean of the New York real estate business, announced at the year-end that in that doubly-controlled city: "The professional real-estate operator or buyer has had the most successful year of any in the last decade." In fact, Noyes said, practically every operator is seeking properties to buy but there are few owners willing to sell. All this, as Noyes puts it, "despite" rent control.

Trends and tips

GASOLINE prices are moving up as the result of recent increases at the wholesale level by refineries; retail boost, expected soon, may amount to a cent or more a gallon. Home fuel oil however is not expected to go up now; supplies are heavy. . . Manufacturers of **Jayson** shirts and pajamas sold throughout the country have announced a 25 per cent reduction during Jan. 12 to 29 to move surplus stocks; shirts now $3.95 will be offered at $2.96. . . Price-cutting of appliances is become as widespread as in the badly-slumping men's wear business; **Montgomery Ward** has followed **Sears Roebuck's** lead in taking $5 to $15 off the price tags on refrigerators.



"Smith is branching out."

LIVING

Let the AMA try some hog hoof tea

By Owen H. Whitfield

HARVIELL, MO.

I WAS just lyin down listenin to my old radio, when the man that announces what's about to happen next introduces two gentmen that was goin to speak about a federal health program.

The first man was representing what white folks call the AMA, which should be called the UAMA (Un-American Medical Assn.). He spoke about 30 minutes along the same lines as the Taft-Hartleys and Hoover-Dixiecrats would approve of. Pointin out what great work the profession is doin, he says the federal health program is "the first step towards Comminism" and the AMA will tax its members to fight it to hell and back.

Tother man was a Senator. He points out how many million people are sufferin for medical attention. He did very well in his talk but he was just another Senator so far as our poor people down here knows.

PINK PILLS. I wish to God they'd call a Senate hearin and let me be in on it to testify. I'd just like to tell those gentmen what it's like to live for 26 out of 55 years as a country preacher, among Poverty, Maltruition and Scurvy, reglar and contagious diseases. When we are fortunate enough to get a doctor, all he gives us is pink pills for all of the above mentioned.

As a preacher I have had to enter the shacks of these people and listen to the wails over a lost Husban, Wife, Mother, Baby & etc. I had to go and put the blame on God to bring consolation to the bereaved, because the people down here are more apt to take things more easier if they feel God does it. They feel that God has the right to take what he please, they gets the idea from the book of Job: "The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away."

HOG HOOF TEA. I have had to use this rotten line of stuff around hundreds and hundreds of homes and cemeterys, when I darn well knew that God would be a very poor and sorry God to go around crushin the already crushed and snatchin the poor from the poor.

I would just like to tell those gentmen about the shacks I have gone into, and seen a body stretched out under a bed sheet. And when I ask did they have a doctor or medicine, they would point to some tin lard pails and cups or an iron tea kettle.

I would look into them, and there was the only medicine they could get: hog hoof tea, jimson weed, mullin weed, pork root. All these made into tea for pneumonia, small pox, TB, malarial and swamp fever.

HUMANITY OR $ . . . ? For over 100 years our South has been a breedin ground for voo-doo and quack doctors and witchcraft. Thousands of old people cant get their old age pension now, because they has to produce a birth certificate, when everyone knows there is no such thing to be had among people who has to use midwives and quacks to deliver their babies from 80 years ago until now.

From our community of 21 families here at Croppersville, I have to haul people 14 miles over rough country roads when a serious operation is needed. The hospital dismisses them the fourth or fifth day, before they are anything like out of danger, because it doesnt have over two or three beds for those that has little or no money.

What does this mean from the AMA's point of view? It means to heck with sufferin humanity; we must get the money.

STEPS TO THE GRAVE. Yes! They will come out with some kind of a sham program dedicated to sufferin humanity—but who is human in the eyes of AMA? Those that have the money, lots of money. The rest of us are just things. That is why the undertakers are doin such rushin business.

AMA says a federal health program is a step towards Comminism. I would like to ask what is worse than millions of moneyless people makin not just one step, but step after step, day by day and hour by hour, towards Death and the Grave, without anything to help them hold on to Life.

We dont care what AMA says. When it comes up in Congress, we will fight and fight and fight to the last ditch. for a medical program that will guarintee medical help for the needy.

THE COTTON PATCH

FSA photo by Lee Shawn

"... I had to go and put the blame on God ..."

It just ain't so

WHAT are your superstitions about food? They're probably wrong and the Dept. of Agriculture knows they are hard to combat, but it keeps trying. Here's a list of common fallacies it has compiled:

You probably think white eggs are better than brown-shelled. You're wrong. Eggs are eggs, regardless of shell color. If both are fresh, there is absolutely no difference in taste or nutritive value.

You probably think cane sugar is better than beet sugar for jelly making. Wrong again. The experts say there is no chemical difference at all.

You are probably convinced that food set away in an opened can will spoil. Wrong. Foods containing acids, like fruit or tomatoes, may acquire a metallic taste, but they are not damaged. Neither are they harmed if left in aluminum utensils. The aluminum may darken, but this has no effect on the food.

You are probably certain that it is harmful to drink milk with fish, or sour cherries, or tomatoes, or some other combination. Wrong again. Nutritionists insist that no two foods that are good for you separately will hurt you in combination. Milk and sour cherries curdle in your stomach, you say? Certainly, say the experts, and so much the better for the digestion.

And appendicitis is not caused by eating fruit seeds.

The Lysenko affair

A 'peasant plant breeder' shakes world of science

By Robert Joyce

IN normally sedate journals and highbrow forums, custard pies have lately been flying at a head formerly unheard-of by most of us.

The head, wrote a choleric American, belongs to "a peasant-turned-plant-breeder" whose opinions are "the merest drivel." . . . "A Ukrainian peasant," added some thundering Britons on a London radio forum; "a charlatan . . . a swindler dealing in fairy tales."

All those involved in the brawl are geneticists (specialists in the science of heredity and biological variations). The American quoted above is Indiana zoology professor H. J. Muller, writing in the **Saturday Review of Literature.**

IS SCIENCE POLITICAL? The head at which the pies are aimed is that of the president of the Soviet Academy of Agricultural Sciences, Trofim Lysenko. But the indignation of the western scientists is all mixed up with abuse of the U.S.S.R. on general principles.

The Russians are accused of "purging" and "sending to Siberia" scientists whose ideas don't fit government policy. This is a field in which there is perpetual open season for unproven or unprovable charges, and in which conscientious scientists move with caution.

Muller added the accusation that politics dominates science in the U.S.S.R. Soviet scientists have replied: "We are convinced that science which is isolated from politics does not exist and cannot exist anywhere in the world. . . The basic question is, with what policy science is connected."

These are frills—if important ones—on the pie. What are the ingredients of the controversy itself?

WHAT IT'S ABOUT. On the surface, the issues might seem to be abstract. Plants and animals adapt themselves to their environment. In the struggle to survive they acquire characteristics. Can these characteristics be passed on to their offspring?

Orthodox geneticists, following the Austrian monk, Mendel, and the American student of the fruit-fly, Morgan, say: "Never!"

Lysenko says: "At certain times and under certain conditions, yes!" This is the "fairy tale" that started the hollering. Lysenko is saying that the theory of inheritances (genetics), developed by orthodox scientists in the last 75 years, is unsound.

CONTROL POSSIBLE. Orthodox genetics, championed by Prof. Muller, says there is in all forms of life a "material of heredity," in the form of particles called "genes" which are separate from the other materials of the body and are not changed by outside influences. They can undergo sudden inner changes but these occur as a result of "ultramicroscopic accidents."

Lysenko, in his book **The Science of Biology Today** (International Publishers, N. Y., paper, 25c), cites his teacher, Michurin, against the theory of a "hereditary substance" independent of the body.

He describes Soviet grafting experiments, in which seeds from a grafted branch produced plants with the characteristics both of the parent stock and of the host plant, to which the seeds owed only nourishment and no "genetic" inheritance. By conditioning seeds to different environments, such as cold, strains of spring wheat have been changed permanently into the different strains of winter wheat.

Lysenko concludes that controlled changes of species are not impossible, and that man doesn't have to wait for chance ("accidents" in the germ cells) to control and hasten evolution.

This idea, of course, has highly political implications. It affects our views and powers regarding ourselves, our fellow men, other forms of life and the world food supply.

DARWIN. Both sides in the argument hark back to the phrase "natural selection," by which Darwin explained the development of the various species of life.

(Sovfoto)

Academician T. D. Lysenko (center) talking to delegates at a conference near Moscow. The conference was called by the experimental station of the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Science to demonstrate wheat cultivation by developing several ears on one stalk—a method evolved by the station.

To the orthodox Mendel-Morgan school of genetics, "natural" in the past seems to have meant that environment alone decided which "accidental" parent-to-offspring changes should survive; man could only wait on the accidents and cultivate those which by chance are valuable to him.

But as Lysenko sees the process of "natural selection," plants and animals have had the power to adapt to changes of environment in ways that have been passed on to succeeding generations. It is this ability to transmit acquired characteristics that he claims to have demonstrated and proposes that we exploit.

SMART DANDELIONS. Part of the orthodox "natural selection" theory is that competition within a species (men, rabbits, etc.) has helped nature weed out the weak and unfit.

Lysenko points out that Darwin's name has been used to sanction as "natural" much anti-social and inhumane behavior. Is an uncaught criminal more "fit," either socially or biologically, than his victims who do not readily use treachery or violence?

Last year Lysenko asserted that competition within a species (as opposed to competition **between** species—rabbit vs. parsnip, man vs. rabbit) was not needed and perhaps not even "natural." As an example he offered a rubber-bearing dandelion which, sowed sparsely, did not prosper, but did much better when sowed in thick clumps.

WHY BE A STAG? Orthodox British scientists expected their famous Marxist colleague J. B. S. Haldane to be embarrassed by this and other theories of "peasant" Lysenko; as a disciplined Communist, they believed, Haldane would either have to agree with everything Lysenko said or be "purged."

Haldane announced without embarrassment that he agreed with Lysenko on some points and not on others. He referred to the case of stags, where natural selection does make use of competition within a species—between armed polygamous males.

But, Haldane added, Lysenko "has done a service to biology in pointing out how rarely it happens. Selection by the means of fighting members of one's own species is a perversion of the normal course of evolution and may lead to extinction of the species."

These are some of the issues raised by the "Ukrainian peasant" biologist. They deserve serious discussion.

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Vol. I, No. 13 · 178 · JAN. 10, 1949

She was purged

Every silent voice helps the murderers

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I WAS particularly interested in James Aronson's editorial article in the Dec. 27 GUARDIAN **(Are There Murderers Among Us?)** because after a long record as a government employee I, too, suddenly became a "menace to our national interests" and was "purged."

Oddly enough, before being considered subversive, my work in the Southwest was considered important, effective and loyal enough to warrant promotion to a post of high responsibility.

After countless gruelling hearings, trials and investigations; being under constant surveillance for years; knowing that persons in every office I contacted ranging from clerical workers to administrators were interrogated about me, my conduct, personal habits, activities—and yet having to work with these people in an executive capacity; I can agree with Aronson about the undermining and destructive nature of the operations of these so-called guardians of democracy.

SYMPATHY NOT ENOUGH. It is not difficult to understand how many naive, innocent, sincere people crack under such strain, even to the point of suicide. Anyone not aware that such methods differ little from Hitler's Gestapo, and not realizing they must be fought as vigilantly as we fought on the battlefield, will hopelessly succumb, once his character has been defamed or his means of livelihood removed.

Therefore I think it important to go beyond sympathy for the victims of Truman's loyalty purge and the Un-American Committee. It must be powerfully emphasized time and again that no honest, intelligent person is safe from the psychological murder being perpetrated under the guise of defending democracy.

Not only does our foreign policy feed the fires of red-baiting hysteria, but **every silent voice** on all of these vital issues enables the murderers to go on destroying innocent people.

NONE IS SAFE. Those who keep silent from fear or an idea they will not be involved must be made to realize that they themselves will inevitably be persecuted, as the tempo increases, just as happened in Hitler Germany with the strengthening of fascism.

Ironically enough, even those who abandoned their human dignity and joined the attackers eventually were removed, once their usefulness ceased.

The name of "liberal" must be stripped from those who join the red-baiters, who feed the hysteria and rationalize for the persecutors. Spouting about liberalism without deeds in its defense merely lays the basis for openly reactionary elements to grow.

TIME TO PROTEST. I think it is timely and imperative that genuine liberals and progressives leave off the defensive and take the offensive, dramatically, militantly and in a united manner. Too little awareness truly exists among average Americans, in shops, offices, schools, etc., as to the extent of the persecutions going on. Dramatic, powerful protest movements can and will bring out the facts and make John Q. Public see that every decent American is threatened unless these persecutions are stopped.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN is doing excellently in presenting the truth. I hope it will go further and appeal strongly and regularly to its readers not only to write letters but to support all groups sincerely protesting these attacks—morally, physically and eloquently through petitions, delegations, and other dramatic means.

—Sonya Guidoni

LETTERS

1949 Resolution

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Realizing how great are the financial requirements for an honestly progressive publication to maintain itself alive and growing; and considering that the GUARDIAN is such a publication deserving unstinted support from those who truly believe in the necessity of having a press organ devoted to the welfare of the people; I suggest that every one of the subscribers to the GUARDIAN, and readers who might not yet be subscribers, contribute a sum for enabling the weekly to expand its circulation and material by adding new features.

I, for my part, will contribute the amount of $10 a month for three months as soon as others make their pledges known. I feel confident that more than 4,000 progressive-minded citizens will gladly make the worthy New Year's resolution of helping the GUARDIAN financially so it will be an outstanding success in 1949 and thereafter.

A. Garcia Diaz

Readers' reactions welcome. —Ed.

•

Red Skeleton

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

After having heard the Red Skelton Christmas radio show, I never felt sicker in all my life. This Skelton says "peace on earth" through one side of his mouth, and then starts selling a war against the "anti-Christ." According to Skelton the people of Russia who go to church to worship cannot be members of the Communist Party; and only members of the party can get ration cards. If, as the papers tell us, only a minority of Russians are Communists, what do the other people in the country do? Starve?

Arthur Yelon

•

The persecuted

LOS ANGELES, CAL.

On the roster of religious leaders who have been singled out for persecution, appear such distinguished names as: Francis J. McConnell, Jerome Davis, Stephen Fritchman, William Melish, Richard Morford, Harry F. Ward, Guy Emery Shipler, Claude Williams, and a host of other honest and courageous Christian leaders.

I have talked with Claude, corresponded with him and helped support the grand work he is accomplishing among the needy of the deep South. Regardless of what stigma is cast upon him I shall continue to be proud of his friendship.

In these days of troubled transition, we must expect to be maligned if we attempt to live our religion, and we will be reviled in proportion to our individual effectiveness in helping to eliminate the basic causes of human suffering and conflict.

There are no streamlined trains to the promised land. Our manifest destiny is an Enduring Peace, and it will not be realized until we return to the conduct expressed in the life of the Prince of Peace; and apply it to our times by baptizing that philosophy of history which is based on the simple fact that "human beings must have **food and drink, clothing and shelter, first of all, before they can interest themselves in politics, science, art, religion and the like."**

It becomes increasingly difficult to reconcile the simple precepts of Jesus with the sorry satire which, today, is widely accepted as Christianity, for no religion is worthy of our affiliation if it extols the Promise of Peace and simultaneously supports, or fails to protest against, economic institutions which could not exist save for war. We cannot serve two masters.

Edward D. Gourley

•

Wallace column

NORMAN, OKLA.

I hope there will be more of Henry Wallace's columns in future issues—couldn't you have him as your regular contributor, writing a column each week? My experience with the **New Republic** frightens me a little. We subscribed to it on the strength of the announcement that H. W. becomes its editor; then his editorship was ended; soon he wasn't even a collaborator; and after that the **New Republic** turned away from the Progressive Party, and against Wallace.

Sophie Court

•

The 3c Plan

RED BANK, N. J.

Enclosed find a postal note for $5 ($3 for sub; $2 for contribution). Wish it could be $500, but my husband is a loyalty purge victim and has had to take a lower-paying job. There is a desperate need for your publication and it must succeed. Each one of us must consider every copy of GUARDIAN as a weapon in our fight against reaction.

I slit a long 3c stamped envelope and wrap my finished copy in it and mail to a city official or to a member of the League of Women Voters or the Parent-Teachers Assn. Even a name picked at random from the phone book may become a subscriber and a fast friend of the paper.

Besse Strasburger

•

What they like

GREENSFORK, IND.

I like the paper fine, and particularly enjoy the articles by Paul Robeson, having had the privilege of hearing him sing or speak several times, as well as having seen him play the part of Othello. I consider him, both as man and artist, as one of the greatest men of this century.

I liked Marcantonio's piece in one of the recent issues and I also enjoy "A Faith to Free the People." I always pass my copy on to someone else as soon as I have read it, in the hope that it will spread its message of enlightenment as far as possible.

Mrs. V. B. Larkey

•

CHICAGO, ILL.

I would suggest the addition of book reviews, movie reviews, art and theatre sections, sports and children's section sometime in the future as the paper grows.

J. Rowitch

We're working on all those ideas.—Ed.

•

WABASH, IND.

We especially like your summary of the week's news. It gives the news and makes it clear where so much of the reporting is confusing and distorting. We like the articles of Dr. Du Bois and are very glad you are publishing the story of Claude Williams. And we like The Cotton Patch. Be sure to keep it. Owen Whitfield has wit and makes direct points that stick with you.

D. H. Ashley

Young in heart

ENCINITAS, CALIF.

We just got the first copy of our paper, the GUARDIAN. Yes, **our** paper, for we are for Mr. Henry Wallace 100% and expect to keep up with him. To say we are happy to know there is such a paper is putting it lightly; we have wondered when a progressive paper would be started, and now will do all in our power to boost it along. We are two elderly people but use much time for progressive work.

Mr. & Mrs. F. B. Warren

•

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

$4 is about my limit. I am now 77, a retired member of the I.T.U., and my only income is pensions—Spanish War, I.T.U., and Social Security. Will do what I can by word of mouth.

W. A. Fairclough

•

STOCKTON, CAL.

Enclosed please find $10 for the indicated subscriptions. May this New Year find the GUARDIAN off to a real permanent start. I wish I could do more financially to help, but as a G.I. college student I just can't.

George Stokes

•

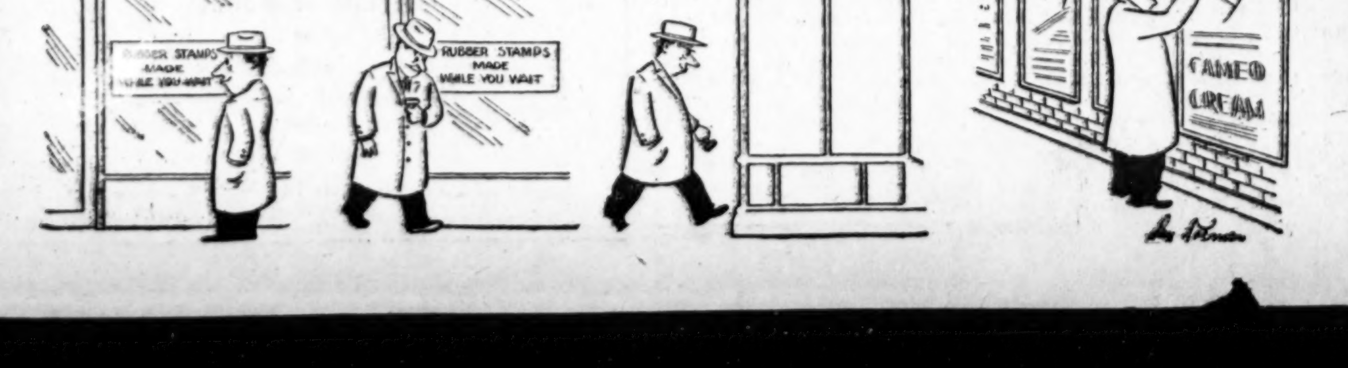
Facts and truth

EAST ORANGE, N. J.

It seems to me that too much of the GUARDIAN is dedicated to a criticism of the press. This is a worthwhile pursuit in itself, but I believe a bona fide newspaper (even though it be weekly) should dedicate its space to presentation of the facts without a great amount of editorial comment.

Your paper does too much work for the reader in interpretation of facts and events. Your readers are in search of facts and truths, and generally conclusions seem more powerful when the reader figures them out for himself.

Marjorie Berkowitz


RUBBER STAMPS MADE WHILE YOU WAIT
RUBBER STAMPS MADE WHILE YOU WAIT
SUBWAY
CAMEO CREAM

A Faith to Free the People

By Cedric Belfrage

REMOVED from his pastorate at Paris, Ark., where he had invited Negroes to sup at the Presbyterian manse, Claude Williams and his wife, Joyce, and their children moved on to Fort Smith Ark., where a strike of unemployed was in progress. When the strike leader, Horace Bryan, was jailed Claude took his place, led a hunger march and was finally arrested at an open-air prayer meeting of the hungry. He was thrust into the Fort Smith jail with the strike leader, Bryan, while police ransacked his home for "red" literature.

VI. The Ordeal

> **Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. . . . Ye are the salt of the earth. . . . Ye are the light of the world.—MATTHEW**

CLAUDE and Bryan were in a fourteen-by-ten-foot cell with six others, who were already used to jail routine and passed the time playing poker and talking sex.

The attorney who was to represent them came in the evening. He was scared of the case, but apparently needed the work. He said the charge against them was barratry.

"Isn't that a crime only lawyers can commit?" asked Claude.

"Preacher," said the attorney, "I think you'd better be careful. It's well enough that you're in jail. If you were not, they'd take you for a ride. I'm not trying to scare you, but I'm not sure they won't anyhow."

Claude stretched out and went to sleep fairly soon.

He woke in the gray dawning and was surprised to find he was still there. Joyce was allowed to see him during the morning. She told him through the bars about the raid on the house and what the police had said.

In the afternoon Bryan was taken to court and sentenced to six months and a $500 fine. Then Claude and the others were called and charged with barratry, and their bail set at $1,200 each.

With Bryan now in another cell, Claude felt alone and depressed. Sleep was impossible.

He did not doubt that if the vigilantes came, the jailers would yield him up without a protest. It was an Old Southern custom. He was outside the pale of the law. He had challenged the top-down control of the propertied class. He had taken sides uncompromisingly with the disinherited, and it was the enemy that had all the weapons of force, while his side had nothing but their solidarity built on the frail foundation of bellies that cried out for food.

THE dawn came gray and cold and he was still there. He had not slept at all.

The day wore on. His attorney came wiith Joyce and said that during the night two of the relief workers who were trying to lead the strike had been taken for a ride by masked men, and threatened with lynching.

Again he lay awake all night.

The trial was set for next day, and Claude had a third sleepless night. When he was brought into the courthouse the building was filled with a great crowd of overalled workers with dirty, weary, hungry faces. All the people who had gathered for the hunger march were there, and hundreds more. The sight of the great crowd lifted Claude's spirit.

The judge, who had a flat head and wore a red tie, sat back in his chair. Forty or fifty vigilantes were packed in or either side of him. The jurymen were hardbitten types, lean and vindictive-looking.

RIGHT at the front Claude saw Hoyle Houser, his Paris protégé who had brought a group from Teachers College at Conway. The preacher looked about to see if any of his fellow-ministers had come, but he saw only Rabbi Teitelbaum sitting near the front.

The court would not try the group of arrested men together. Claude was taken first. He was public enemy number one in Fort Smith.

Delighting in his role of defender of the faith against a devil in priest's clothing, the prosecuting attorney dramatized himself with shouts and stamping.

After two or three hours of it night had fallen, and there was a recess. The workers crowded past him and stood ten deep at the rail, reaching for the preacher's hand and calling out:

"Hi, preacher! Good work! Keep it up!"

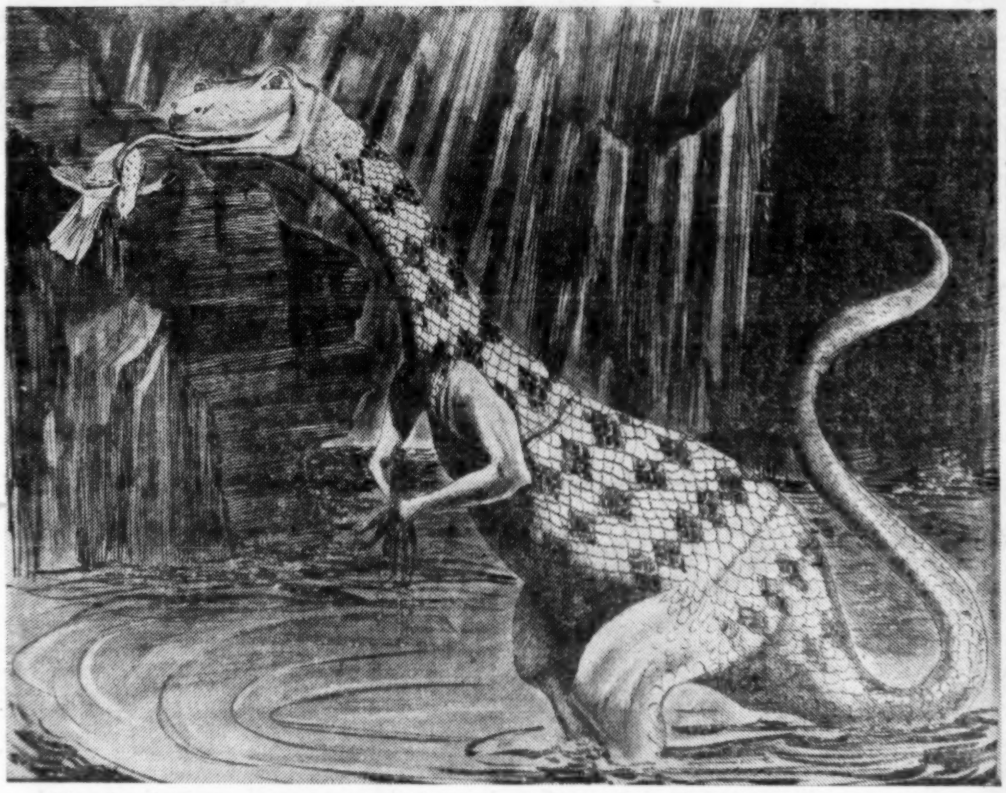
The trial proceeded. The prosecuting attorney came to his big scene, where he read extracts from the seditious literature found in Ward Rodgers' trunk. He took Lenin's **Imperialism,** read a few lines of it in a contemptuous voice, stumbling pointedly over unfamiliar words, then slammed the book down on the table.

"I don't understand that stuff," he said turning to the jury as one honest Southern gentleman to twelve others. "I don't know what it means and I don't want to. It's all red to me."

"This man is supposed to be a preacher," the prosecutor continued. "But he don't look like one of us—he don't act like one of us—he don't think like one of us—he ain't one of us. I don't know what kind of religion he's got, but thank God"—he drawled the word out in reverence to the Almighty—"thank God it's not the same kind of religion the good ministers of Fort Smith have got."

NO defense witnesses were called. The jury found him guilty of barratry in less than ten minutes. He was sentenced to ninety days and a $100 fine.

The group of students could not restrain a groan when the sentence was passed. The judge reddened and shouted at them that they had better get out of town. Claude appealed the case and went back to jail with the sheriff.



"Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made" (Genesis 3:1). A symbolic conception by Milton Wynne, drawn for the People's Institute of Applied Religion, of the spirit of pure evil working against Man from the Garden of Eden to 20th-century Fort Smith, Ark.

Another dawn, and Claude was still unlynched. He began to think this danger was passing and maybe soon he might be able to have some sleep. He felt quite worn out, but with that a certain exhilaration was growing in him, merely to know that in this corner of Arkansas he was playing his small part in the struggle for the reconstruction of society.

The lawyer came and reported that every obstacle was being placed in the way of bailing Claude out. One bonding company had refused to handle the thing; another had been rejected by the court; a third said it would be against Claude's interests to be bailed out because he would only be re-arrested on another charge, or taken for a ride.

WHEN he had been there two weeks and the authorities were still making difficulties about bail, Claude decided to try and call the local ministers' hand. He was a minister officially in good standing, shut up in a cell on a technicality of the law; a mere $1,200 bond stood in the way of his liberation; yet not one preacher of Christ in Fort Smith had so much as come to the jail.

Claude asked his lawyer to call the ministers to the jail to see him. None came save Hefner, who as Moderator of the Presbytery could not refuse the plain request. Claude asked him whether he could not help in the bonding matter without involving himself.

"I don't know," Hefner said. "It isn't a minister's place to lead strikes and stir up hatred. He must be a friend to all."

"But don't you see that by your very silence you are taking sides? Siding with wealth and property against the multitudes for whom the Nazarene stood?"

Hefner hesitated for a few moments and then said:

"Williams, I love the nigger as well as you do. But when I came here I resolved not to butt my brains out against an impossible problem."

By the eighteenth day, with his friends outside still working feverishly to bail him out, the jail was getting Claude seriously down. The noises and smells were like knives cutting deep into his brain.

IT was the last night of Claude's postgraduate course in the pain of the despised and rejected. Soon afterwards Claude's bail was paid and Joyce took him home.

At nightfall Howard Lee drove him out of town and smuggled him into the College. He was taken to the suite of Harry McLennan, a professor at the College, where some 30 students had gathered.

When the preacher came in, very late, Lucy McLennan went to him and embraced him, too moved to speak for some moments. The students clustered around. Some homebrew had been made ready to welcome him. He drank and told about his experiences. His nerves were in a terrible state. H whole body shook as he t of the beatings in the jail. T students wept unashamedly.

Next day, one of the students met a local minister who said about Claude: "He's a hypocrite. He preaches birth control and he's got eight children and five of them have nigger blood."

Legends about the red preacher spread fast. A Paris friend of Claude's came into Fort Smith some days later. He went to see the judge who had finally allowed the bond, and asked where Claude was.

"He's gone," the judge said. "We think he ought to be in hell, but we can't do a thing to him. He's got friends all over the world. I've a stack of telegrams that high on my desk from his friends all trying to meddle in Fort Smith affairs."

7th INSTALMENT NEXT WEEK

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